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**NOTES ON CHINESE MEDIEVAL TRAVELLERS TO THE WEST.**

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(Continued from p. 22.)

**III. 北使記 *Pei shi ki*.**

ACCOUNT OF WESTERN COUNTRIES, BY AN ENVOY OF THE KIN EMPEROR,

*Sent to Tchinguiz khan in A. D. 1220.*

THIS short report bears the title 北使記 *Pei shi ki*, "Notes on an embassy to the north;" by which the author means the northern dynasty or the Mongol court; and as Tchinguiz was at that time near the Hindu-kush mountain, the envoy in reality travelled not to the north, but to the west.

The article is of little importance, and hardly repays the trouble spent in searching it out in the 知不足齋叢書 *Chi pu tsu chai ts'ung shu*, a bulky Chinese work of more than 30,000 pages, containing a very large number of small articles on different matters, collected, as is usually the case in Chinese books, without any system and without a detailed index. The *Pei shi ki* is found there as chapter 14 of the 歸潛志 *Kui tsien chi*, a book written near the close of the 13th century by 劉祁 *Liu K'i*, and treating of different matters regarding the Kin dynasty. But *Liu K'i* is not the author of the *Pei shi ki*; he must have reproduced it from another book. This is proved by the statement of the author of the article, that he himself knew the envoy, who returned from the west in 1222, and that he took down the report from his account. *Liu K'i*, as we have seen, wrote at the end of the 13th century. He finished the *Kui tsien chi* in 1295. (See Wylie's *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 159.)

The name of this envoy of the Kin emperor, who went to western Asia, is 吾古孫仲端 *Wu-ku-sun Chung-tuan*. His biography is found in the *Kin shi* or "History of the Kin dynasty," chap. 124; and his mission to Tchinguiz is there also shortly recorded. Tchinguiz, who at first was tributary to the Kin, in 1211 had withdrawn his allegiance,

and made his first irruption into northern China. He ravaged the provinces of the *Kin* to the Yellow river. 中都 *Chung tu* (the present Peking), the residence of the *Kin* emperor, was taken by the Mongol armies in 1215. Whilst Tchinguiz turned his arms to western Asia, one of his generals, the famous *Moucouli*,<sup>1</sup> continued the war in northern China with the greatest success. The *Kin* emperor distressed, resolved to dispatch an envoy to the great conqueror to solicit peace. This was the subject of Wu-ku-sun's mission to the west. In his narrative nothing is reported regarding his diplomatic negotiations; but his audience with Tchinguiz in the country of the Mohammedans, and the discourse he had with the conqueror, are recorded in the *Yüan shi*, as well as in the *T'ung kien kang mu*. We have seen that Ch'ang-ch'ün, in his travels met the envoy of the *Kin* emperor (vol. v, p. 193). Thus the narrative of Wu-ku-sun is corroborated by several contemporary writers. The anonymous author of the *Pei shi ki* records his tale as follows:—

In the 7th month of the year 1220, Wu-ku-sun *Chung-tuan* vice-president of the Board of Rites (禮部侍郎), was intrusted by the emperor (*U-tu-bu* of the *Kin* dynasty) with a mission to the northern court. An *T'ing-chen*, secretary in the Academy (翰林侍制), was appointed his assistant. Wu-ku-sun returned in the 10th month of 1221,<sup>2</sup> when he addressed me in the following terms: "I have been sent a distance of ten thousand *li* to the west,<sup>3</sup> and not wishing all the curious things I saw on my travels to remain unrecorded, I therefore request you to write down my narrative." Wu-ku-sun then reported as follows:—

In the 12th month (January) of 1220 I passed the northern frontier (of the *Kin* empire) and proceeded in a north-western direction, where the ground rises gradually. Advancing parallel with (the northern frontier of) the *Hia* empire,<sup>4</sup> after travelling seven or eight thousand *li* I arrived at a mountain. East of it all rivers flow to the east; west of it they run to the west, and the ground gradually descends.<sup>5</sup> Further

1 *Moucouli* of Rashid-eddin. The *Yüan shi* spells the name 木華黎 *Mu-hua-li*.

2 This seems to be an erroneous date for his return. The narrative of Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels which is more trustworthy, states, that they met the envoy of the *Kin* on his way back west of the *Talas* river, on the 13th of the 10th month of 1221 (see vol. v, p. 193). In Wu-ku-sun's biography, the 12th month (January 1222) is given as the time of his return to China. This seems also too early. The envoy could hardly travel so speedily. The express sent by Ch'ang-ch'ün from Peking in 1220 to Tchinguiz, who was at that time near Samarcand, took more than six months before he returned to Peking (vol. v, pp. 176, 177).

3 亘天之西 Literally: "west of the border of heaven."

4 Compare Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels, note 81.

5 In Wu-ku-sun's biography, in the *Kin shi*, it is noted: "Wu-ku-sun and his assistant An *T'ing-chen* received orders to set out to the Mongol court in order to sue for peace. (On their road) they fell in with the first councillor *Mu-hua-li* (the commander-in-chief of the Mongol army in China). An *T'ing-chen* was then retained (by *Mu-hua-li*), and Wu-ku-sun continued his journey alone. He proceeded along the northern border of the *Hia* empire, crossed the 流沙 *Liu-sha* desert, passed over the 葱嶺 *Ts'ung-ling* mountains, arrived in the 西域 *Si-yü* (central Aia), and was presented to the emperor." *Liu-sha* in the above

on, after travelling four to five thousand *li*, the climate becomes very hot. I passed through more than a hundred cities, not one of which had a Chinese name. I inquired about the country, and the people told me that many tribes were living there; namely the 磨里奚 *Mo-li-hi*, the 磨可里 *Mo-k'o-li*, the 紇里迄斯 *Ho-li-ki-sze*, the 乃蠻 *Nai-man*, the 航里 *Hang-li*, the 瑰古 *Gui-gu*, the 途馬 *Tu-ma* and the 合魯 *Ho-lu*; all are barbarian tribes (諸番族).<sup>6</sup> Further on I travelled over several tens of thousands of *li* (又幾萬里), and arrived at the city of 益離 *Yi-li* in the country of the *Hui-ho*. There is the residence of the king of (or of a king of) the *Hui-ho*.<sup>7</sup> We were then in the first decade of the 4th month (early in May). The empire of 大石 *Ta-shi*, or of the great 契丹 *K'i-tan*, was formerly in the middle of the country of the *Hui-ho*. 大石林馬 *Tu-shi Lin-ma* belonged to the people of the 遼 *Liao*.<sup>8</sup> *Tai-tsu* (or *Aguta*, the first emperor of the Kin dynasty) liked him for his intelligence and eloquence, and gave him a princess (of the Kin) as wife; but *Ta-shi* secretly bore the emperor ill-will. At the time the emperor moved his arms to the west,<sup>9</sup> *Ta-shi* was at first with

passage means literally "moving sand." This term was applied in ancient times, to the sandy desert west of the *Kia-yü kuan* gate of the great wall, in the present *Kan-su*. This name *Liu-sha* appears already in the *Shu-king* (Tribute of Yü). By the name of *Ts'ung-ling* (Onion mountains), the Chinese since the time of the Han dynasty, understand the high mountain chain which separates eastern Turkestan (Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan) from western Turkestan (Kokand and the land on the Yaxartes and Oxus). It would seem therefore from the above quoted passage, that the route followed by *Wu-ku-sun* lay south of the *T'ien shan* (as the way is described by Marco Polo). This supposition seems, however, to be in contradiction with the *Pei shi ki*, where *Wu-ku-sun* enumerates a number of tribes and nations, who almost all lived north of the *T'ien shan*. The statements in his narrative are so vague, and the distances given so exaggerated, that it is difficult to draw any conclusion. But it seems certain, that *Wu-ku-sun* returned by the route north of the *T'ien shan*, for he met with *Ch'ang-ch'un*.

- 6 All these names can be identified with the names of tribes in Mongolia, and central Asia, mentioned by Rashid-oddin (D'Oshson, l. c. tom. i, pp. 423 seqq). The *Mo-li-hi* are probably the *Merkites* of Rashid. According to the Persian historian they lived near the Selenga river.

The *Yüan shi* spells the name 蔑里乞 *Mie-li-k'i*. In the History of the *Liao* they appear under the name of 密兒紀 *Mi-r-ki*. I do not think that by *Mo-li-hi* the *Moulalida* or *Ismaélians* could be meant. (See *Si shi ki*, note 12.) The *Mo-k'o-li* may be Rashid's *Mekrines*, a tribe living in the Altai mountains. The *Ho-li-ki-sze* are the *Kirghiz*. (See *Ch'ang-ch'un's travels*, note 157.) Regarding the *Naiman*, see *ibid.* note 9. The *Hang-li* (in the *Yüan shi* the name is generally written 康里 *K'ang-li*, and also 杭里 *Hang-li*) are the *Canealis* of the Persian author, who states, that they originally nomadized in the plains west of the Caspian sea. The name *Gui-gu* is probably intended for *Ougours*. The *Tu-ma* are the *Toumates* of Rashid, near the territories of the *Kirghiz*. The *Ho-lu*, finally are the *Carloucs*, who according to Rashid's statements seem to have lived somewhere near the present *Kouldja*. The *Yüan shi* mentions this tribe repeatedly, and spells the name 哈刺魯 *Ha-la-lu*. On my ancient Chinese map of central and western Asia, the 柯耳魯也 *Ko-r-lu-ye* (evidently the same name) are marked north-east of *Alimali*.

- 7 The distances *Wu-ku-sun* gives are absurdly exaggerated. If we take his ciphers *au sérieux*, we should have to look for *Yi-li* in western Europe. I am not able to state whether *Yi-li* is intended for ancient *Ilbaligh* in the present *Ili* (see the *Si shi ki*, note 45), or for *Herat*, (see note 15, *infra*).

- 8 Compare *Ch'ang-ch'un's travels*, note 33.

- 9 He pursued the *Liao* emperor.

him, but afterwards he took his family and fled beyond the mountains (Altai probably). Then he assembled the tribes on the frontier and emigrated to the north-west. On their wanderings they rested at places abounding in water and pasture. After several years they arrived at the 陰山 *Yin shan* mountain,<sup>10</sup> but could not penetrate owing to the rocks and the snow. They were obliged to leave their carts behind, and to carry their baggage on camels. Thus they arrived in the country of the *Hui-ho*, took possession of the land and founded an empire. From day to day *Ta-shi's* power increased; he reigned some thirty years and more, and after death was canonized as 德宗 *Te-tsung*. When he died his son succeeded, who was canonized as 仁宗 *Jen-tsung*. After his death, his younger sister, by name 甘 *Kan*, took charge of the regency; but, as she held illicit intercourse and killed her husband, she was executed. Then the second son of *Jen-tsung* came to the throne. Owing to his appointing unworthy officers, the empire fell into decay, and was finally destroyed by the *Hui-ho*. At the present day there are few of these people left, and they have adopted the customs and the dress of the *Hui-ho* (Mohammedans).<sup>11</sup>

The empire of the 回紇 *Hui-ho* is very vast and extends far to the west. In the 4th or 5th month there the grass dries up, as in our country in winter. The mountains are covered with snow even in the hottest season of the year (暑伏). When the sun rises it becomes hot, but as soon as it sets it gets cold. In the 6th month even, people are obliged to use wadded coverlets.<sup>12</sup> There is no rain in summer; it is only in autumn that it begins to fall. Then the vegetation shoots forth, and in winter the plains become green like our country in spring, and herbs and trees are in blossom.

The people (of the Mohammedans) have thick beards, the hair of which is entangled like sheep's wool and of different colours, black or yellow in different shades.<sup>13</sup> Their faces are almost entirely covered by hair; only the nose and the eyes can be seen. All their customs are very strange. There are the following kinds of *Hui-ho* :—

10. By *Yin shan* probably the *Talki* (Borokhoro) mountains north of Kouldja are meant. (Compare *Ch'ang-ch'un's travels*, note 154.) It is all the more probable that *Ta-shi* passed by this way, as the Persian authors state that the *Karakitai* before entering Turkestan, founded a city on the *Imil* river. (D'Ohsson, l. c. tom. i, p. 442.)
11. A more detailed account of the *Si-liao* or *Karakitai* may be found in the "History of the Liao dynasty," *Liao shi*, chap. 30. But *Wu-ku-sun* gives some statements about them, which are not found in the *Liao shi*. The article regarding the *Si-liao* in the *Liao shi* has been translated into French by *Visdelou*, in the *Supplément à la Bibliothèque Orientale*, and is reproduced by D'Ohsson (l. c. tom. i, pp. 441 seqq.), together with translations from the Persian authors regarding the *Karakitai*.
12. *Wu-ku-sun* speaks probably of the climate on the Hindu-kush. He was presented to *Tchinguiz* somewhere on that mountain.
13. This statement seems to be perfectly correct. The Persians at the present day dye their hair with *henna* (the powdered leaves of a shrub, *lawsonia inermis*), which produces an orange colour. If afterwards *indigo* is applied, the hair becomes quite black. But a great part of the men prefer the orange colour for their beards. This custom of dying the



The 沒速魯蠻回紇 *Mu-su-lu-man Hui-ho* are very bloodthirsty and greedy. They tear flesh with the fingers and swallow it.<sup>14</sup> Even in the time of lent they eat meat and drink wine.

The 遣里諸回紇 *Yi-li chu Hui-ho* (Hui-ho of *Yi-li*) are rather weak and delicate; they do not like to kill, and do not eat flesh when they fast.<sup>15</sup>

There are further the 印都回紇 *Yin-du Hui-ho* (Hui-ho of Hindustan),<sup>16</sup> who are black and of good character. Many other things could be reported about this people (of the Hui-ho). The king of the country chooses his servants amongst the black and vilest class of the people of *Yin-du* (Hindustan),<sup>17</sup> and marks their faces by burning (火漫其面焉). The people are all living in cities; there are no villages. The roofs of their houses are covered with clay.<sup>18</sup> All the woodwork in the houses is carved. They use white glass for their windows and for vessels. The country is very rich in silver, pearls, cotton, hemp etc. Their arrows, bows, carts, cloths, armour, spears and vessels are all of strange appearance. They use large bricks for building bridges.<sup>19</sup>

hair doubtless existed among the Mohammedans in the 13th century. The property of henna in dyeing the hair yellow was known already to Dioscorides.

14. It is the custom up to this time, among the Mohammedans in Persia, not to use knives or forks at their meals. They tear the flesh with their fingers. The Chinese also, although unacquainted with our custom of using knives and forks, yet never take any meat with their fingers, but use chopsticks.
15. I am embarrassed to know what *Wu-ku-sun* means by Hui-ho of *Yi-li*. The name *Yi-li* occurs here for the second time in his narrative, although it was rendered above by other characters. But I am inclined to suppose, that it is not *Yi* in Chinese Turkestan which is meant, but *Herat* or *Heri*. D'Herbelot states, l. c. p. 416, "Hérat a toujours été une des quatre capitales de la Perse." According to Rashid, Herat had been taken by Touléi, Tchingiz khan's son, in 1221. *Wu-ku-sun* must have arrived a short time after its capture. The *Yüan shi*, annals, also mention the capture of Herat by Touléi, but as occurring in 1222. I must observe, that the *Yüan shi* gives a tolerably correct description of Tchingiz khan's expedition to western Asia, and in accordance with Rashid; but all the events are reported there a year later than in Rashid's history. (Compare also *Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels*, note 118.) The *Yüan shi*, annals, state that Touléi took the cities of *Tu-sze* (Thous) and *Ni-ch'ä-wu-r* (Nishapur. See vol. v, p. 120), devastated the country of the *Mu-li-yi* (Ismaelians. See *Si shi ki*, note 12), crossed the river 柳柳蘭 *Ch'o-ch'o-lan* (*Shuo-shuo-lan*), and took the city 也里 *Ye-li*. There can be no doubt, that here by *Ye-li*, Herat is meant, and these sounds are intended for *Heri*, which is the original name of Herat. On the *Catalan map* of the year 1375, appended to Col. Yule's *Cathay*, this name is spelt *Eri*. In the *Yüan ch'ao mi shi* (see Palladius' transl. l. c. p. 147), the name of Herat is spelt 亦魯 *Yi-lu*. It is stated there, that Touléi after having taken *Yi-lu*, besieged the city or *Ijudjelen*. We have seen that the *Yüan shi* mentions a river of a similar name near Herat.
16. The account given by *Wu-ku-sun* regarding the *Hui-ho*, may serve to throw more light upon the question, repeatedly ventilated in these pages, what people in the 13th century the Chinese understood by this name. Some of our European savants, and especially Pauthier, have considerably confused our notions on this matter in translating invariably *Hui-ho* by *Uigours*. The *Yüan ch'ao mi shi* always calls the Mohammedans *Hui-hu*, but in the Mongol original of that book they are termed *Sartol*. Even now the trading class of the people of Transoxiana are known in western Asia under the name of *Sarty* (see Ritter's *Asien*, vol. v, p. 527).
17. It is not certain, whether the author speaks of an Indian ruler or a Persian sovereign.
18. As is well known, even at the present day, the flat roofs in western Asia are covered with clay.
19. The Chinese bridges are made of large square stones.

Their boats resemble a shuttle. They have the five kinds of corn<sup>20</sup> and mulberry trees as we have in China. Their salt is found in the mountains.<sup>21</sup> They make wine from grapes. There are water-melons weighing sixty pounds. The apples<sup>22</sup> are very prettily coloured. The onions and melons are also very fine and fragrant. As regards animals, camels are found there, but they have only one hump.<sup>23</sup> The oxen there have also a hump on their neck.<sup>24</sup> Their sheep have large tails.<sup>25</sup> There are also lions, elephants, peacocks, buffaloes (水牛 *shui-niu*, literally "water oxen") and wild asses (野驢 *ye-lu*).<sup>26</sup> There are snakes with four legs.<sup>27</sup> There is also a dangerous insect, which resembles a spider; when it bites a man, he cries out and dies.<sup>28</sup> There is a great variety of beasts, birds, fish, insects, etc. in these countries, which are not found in China.

There is a hill called 塔必斯罕 *T'a-bi-sze-han*. It has an extent of fifty or sixty *li* and appears like a green screen, being covered with forests of 檜 *kui* trees.<sup>29</sup> At the foot of the hill is a spring.<sup>30</sup>

The people are dressed simply. The flaps of their coats have not right and left (袷無左右); all wear girdles. Their clothes, cushions and coverlets, are all made from wool. This wool grows in the ground.<sup>31</sup> Their food consists of 胡餅 *hu-ping* (barbarian cakes, or rather bread), 湯餅 *t'ang-ping* (meal-meat), fish and flesh. The women are dressed in white cloth and cover their faces with the exception of the eyes. Amongst them there some who have beards. The women do nothing but sing, dance, etc. Sewing and embroidery are executed by men. They have also performers and jugglers. Their laws are written in Mohammedan letters. For writing they use reeds (葦 *wei*).<sup>32</sup> Their language cannot be understood by Chinese. They have not the custom of burning their dead. At their funerals they never use coffins or sarcophagi. In burying the dead they always put the head towards the west. Their priests do not shave their heads.<sup>33</sup> In

20. About the five kinds of corn, see my *Notes on Chinese botanical works*, page 8.

21. Compare *Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels*, vol. v, p. 242, and *Si shi ki*, note 84.

22. 海棠 *Hai-t'ang*, properly "crab-apples."

23. Compare *Si shi ki*, note 143.

24. Compare *Si shi ki*, note 86.

25. The broad-tailed sheep of Persia, *ovis steatopyga persica*.

26. *Asinus onager*, in Persian "gur-i-khar." Wild asses are found up to this time in all the deserts of Persia.

27. The *Si shi ki* has the same statement. See note 97.

28. The *phalange*. See *Si shi ki*, note 51.

29. See *Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels*, note 36.

30. I am not prepared to say what hill is meant by *T'a-bi-sze-han*. Perhaps the lovely oasis of *Thabas* in Kuliistan. D'Herbelot in his *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 886, states that this place was called *Thabas sista*, in order to distinguish it from another place *Thabas* in Fars. I do not know whether the Chinese description agrees with *Thabas*.

31. Compare *Ch'ang-ch'ün's statement* regarding "vegetable wool." (vol. v, p. 191). It seems cotton is meant.

32. Indeed the Mohammedans up to this time, write with a pen made of a kind of reed, which in Persia is called "Kalam."

33. The Buddhist priests in China always shave their heads.

their temples no images or statues are seen. The language of their sacred books likewise, is unintelligible to the Chinese. It is only in the cities of 和州 *Huo-chou* and 沙州 *Sha-chou* that statues are found in the temples (of the Hui-ho) as in China. There they (the Hui-ho) recite also Buddhist books written in Chinese letters. (誦漢字佛書).<sup>34</sup>

(After Wu-ku-sun had finished his report) I (*i. e.* the author of article) said to him :—"Your journey indeed is an extraordinary fact. Anciently, in the time of the Han dynasty, 張騫 *Chang Kien* and 蘇武 *Su Wu*<sup>35</sup> were entrusted with missions to far countries. They returned after several years, having endured much suffering and risked their lives. (Like these men) you penetrated to unknown countries, travelled amongst enemies more than ten thousand *li*, crossed deserts, and accomplished all this for the sake of saving the people.<sup>36</sup> You were quite cheerful, your mind did not falter; and it is remarkable, that your face bears no token of fatigue. It is because from youth up, your heart has been full of devotion to the throne; and thus you were able to travel amongst the barbarians as gaily as if you had not left home. You have preserved your life and your honour, and your bold feat has made a great sensation amongst your contemporaries. Indeed you are a glorious man; and it is with great pleasure, that I undertake to write your report for the benefit of future historians."

As Wu-ku-sun in his report, says nothing regarding his audience with Tchinguiz khan, I will, for the sake of completeness, translate from the *Yüan shi*, what I have found there on this subject. In the annals, under the year 1221,<sup>37</sup> it is stated :—"In this year the *Kin* emperor sent Wu-ku-sun *Chung-tuan* to Tchinguiz with a letter, in which he begged for peace. He agreed to be Tchinguiz khan's younger brother (*i. e.* his vassal), but made the condition to retain the title of 'emperor' (帝 *tì*)." During the year 1222, we read in the same annals :—"In autumn Wu-ku-sun was presented to the emperor,<sup>38</sup> in the country of the *Hui-ho* (Mohammedans). The emperor said to him : 'I formerly asked

34. About *Huo-chou* or *Kharakhodjo*, in the country of the Ouigours, see *Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels*, note 58. *Sha-chou* lies in the present *Kan-su*, west of the gate of *Kia-yü kuan*. It is mentioned by Marco Polo, who also speaks of the idols of *Sha-chou*.

35. *Chang Kien* is the name of the famous Chinese general, who was sent during the reign of *Wu-ti* (140-86 B. C.) to open communication with western Asia. He was caught by the *Hung-nu* (see *Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels*, note 42), and kept prisoner for ten years. He then escaped and reached Kokhand and Bactria, and returned to China about 122 B. C. bringing the first accounts of western Asia. *Su Wu* was another Chinese envoy of the Han dynasty, sent to the *Hung-nu* about 100 B. C. The *Hung-nu* after having in vain attempted to induce him to turn traitor, banished him to the 北海 *Pei-hai* ("northern sea," the "Iuko *Boikal*" of our days), where he tended sheep for many years. Finally the emperor *Wu-ti* succeeded in delivering his faithful minister, who afterwards acquired a great popularity amongst the Chinese. His biography is found in the *Ts'ien han shu*.

36. An allusion to Wu-ku-sun's mission to Tchinguiz, to sue for peace.

37. I repeat my remark that the *Yüan shi* is one year in advance.

38. Compare Wu-ku-sun's conversation with *Chang-ch'ün*, vol. v, p. 193.

of your sovereign to cede the land north of the Yellow river, and to reign over the country south of it with the title of "king" (王) *wang*. On these conditions I would have suspended the war. But now *Muhua-li* has already conquered all these countries, and you are compelled to sue for peace.' Wu-ku-sun then implored the emperor to have pity. Tchinguiz replied :—' It is only in consideration of the great distance you have come that I can be indulgent. The land north of the Yellow river is in my possession, but there are still some cities in 關西 *Kuan-si*<sup>39</sup> which have not surrendered. Tell your sovereign to surrender these cities, and then he may reign south of the Yellow river, with the title of *wang*.' After this Wu-ku-sun returned home."

#### IV. EXTRACT FROM THE 西遊錄 *SI YU LU*.

I have stated in the introduction to my paper, that *Ye-lü Ch'u-ts'ai*, the minister of Tchinguiz khan, who accompanied the conqueror to western Asia, had written a book on his travels to the west, which does not now seem to exist. In searching in the *Chi pu tau chai ts'ung shu* for the article translated in the foregoing chapter, I was fortunate in finding, if not *Ye-lü Ch'u-ts'ai*'s original work, at least an abstract of it; and I consider it sufficiently interesting to occupy a place in these notes. The original was probably a narrative, as much detailed as that of *Ch'ang-ch'un*. Unhappily, the Chinese in making abstracts from more extensive works, are seldom able to distinguish what is important and what is not; and in the present abstract consequently, some passages, which have been separated from the context, are not quite intelligible. Nevertheless it is of no little importance regarding the mediæval geography of Asia, and enables us to trace the great highway, by which the Mongol armies passed from Mongolia to western Asia; a subject all the more interesting, as the Persian historians say very little about it. As I presumed, Tchinguiz and his armies went by the same way as *Ch'ang-ch'un*; and as we have seen, *Chang Te* followed for the greater part the same route. All proceeded along the northern slope of the T'ien shan mountains, where up to this time a trade route exists, which however has only been partly explored by our travellers. *Urumtsi* (ancient *Bishbalik*) is still known only from some incomplete reports of merchants; no educated traveller has been there.

Before giving the translation of the extract of the *Si yu lu*, I may be allowed to say a few words about the author of the original work, the illustrious minister of Tchinguiz khan and of his successors.

39. *Kuan-si* means west of the gate (pass). Probably the land west of 潼關 *T'ung-kuan*, the important defile on the frontier between *Shen-si*, *Shan-si* and *Ho-nan* is meant.

As is stated in his long biography, *Yüan shi*, chap. 146,<sup>1</sup> 耶律楚才 *Ye-lü Ch'u-ts'ai* was a descendant of the imperial family of the Liao or *K'itan*, which dynasty reigned over northern China, 916-1125, and was overthrown by the Kin. *Ye-lü* was the name of the imperial family of the Liao. *Ch'u-ts'ai* was descended from a son of *Apoki*, the founder of the Liao dynasty; his ancestor had a small principality near the celebrated mount 醫巫閭 *Yi-wu-lü* in Manchuria.<sup>2</sup> *Ch'u-ts'ai*'s father was a high officer in the service of the *Kin*. *Ch'u-ts'ai* was born in 1190. At the time Tchinguiz khan's armies took Peking, he was made prisoner. The conqueror attached him to his person, and after having proved his capabilities, gave him the highest post in his empire. *Ch'u-ts'ai* accompanied Tchinguiz in his expedition to western Asia. According to the Chinese annals, he acted also an important part as statesman during the reigns of Tchinguiz khan's successors. He died, —according to the *Yüan shi*,—of grief over the bad administration of the empire, during the regency of Tourokina in 1243, it seems at Peking. The 日下舊聞 *Ji hia kiu wen*, an archaeological and historical description of Peking and its neighborhood (see Wylie, l. c. p. 36), published in the 17th century, states that *Ch'u-ts'ai* was buried at the southern foot of the 瑤山 *Weng* hill, near Peking. In 1627 the temple with his grave still existed there; containing his marble statue and that of his wife. He was represented with long moustaches reaching down to his knees. In his biography it is also stated, that Tchinguiz, when he first saw *Ch'u-ts'ai*, was surprised by his tall figure and his splendid beard. A. Palladius informs me, that he has seen another statement (in a description of Liao-tung of the Ming time), according to which, *Ch'u-ts'ai* was buried at the cemetery of his ancestors near mount *Yi-wu-lü* in Manchuria. This seems more plausible, and then there may have been at the *Weng* hill, only a temple and a monument to his memory. In another and more complete edition of the *Ji hia kiu wen*, published in 1774, it is stated, that the name of the *Weng* hill was changed during the Kien-lung period, to *Wan-shou shan*, and that at that time no traces of *Ch'u-ts'ai*'s monument remained; but in 1751, by imperial order, a new temple and a monument were erected there in honour of the meritorious statesman. *Wan-shou shan* (the Hill of Longevity) bears up to this time the same name. It is a lovely hill, about seven miles north-west of Peking, till the last war, in 1860, the summer residence of the Chinese emperor. As is known, the noble palace there was destroyed

1. An extract of *Ye-lü Ch'u-ts'ai*'s biography is also given in the *Yüan shi lei pien*. The author of this work has added some interesting notes, drawn from rare books which are not found in the *Yüan shi*. Abel Rémusat in his *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, tom. ii, p. 64 seqq. has translated a part of *Ch'u-ts'ai*'s biography.

2. Mount *Yi-wu-lü* is near the present *Kuang-ning hien* in Manchuria. The name occurs already in the classics.

and burnt by the allied armies. Some months ago I visited this place, with its picturesque ruins, covered with climbing plants, and overshadowed by dense groves, reflected in the azure lake, but was not able to detect amongst the ruins, the monument of Tchinguiz khan's minister.

It is strange, that Rashid-eddin, the able Persian historian, who gives such circumstantial accounts of the history of the Mongols, and mentions all the ministers and other high officers of that empire, and for the greater part in perfect accordance with the Chinese historians who compiled the official documents of the Mongols,—does not mention at all Ye-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, who by the Chinese however is celebrated not only as an ingenious statesman, but also as a distinguished astronomer and poet. D'Ohsson therefore tries to identify *Ch'u-ts'ai* with *Mahmud Yelvadj*, often mentioned by the Persian authors as a high officer under Tchinguiz and his successors, and who, according to D'Ohsson is not spoken of in the Chinese annals (D'Ohss. tom. ii, pp. 193, 194). But D'Ohsson is wrong; the name of Yelvadj occurs repeatedly in the *Yüan shi*, and other Chinese historical works of that period. Rashid states, that Mahmud Yelvadj was a Mohammedan and that his son *Mass'oud bey* afterwards governed Turkestan and Transoxiana. In the *Yüan shi*, annals, year 1251 (eight years after Ch'u-ts'ai died), we find 牙老瓦赤 *Ya-lao-wa-ch'i* was appointed governor of the province *Yen-king* (northern China), and 麻速忽 *Ma-su-hu* governor in *Bi-shi-ba-li* and other countries. In the *Yüan ch'ao mi shi*,<sup>3</sup> Ye-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's name does not appear, but Yelvadj is mentioned there as *Ya-la-wa-ch'i*, a *Hui-hui* from *Urungch'i* (Urgendj). (For further details see l. c. p. 149.) In the *Ts'in ch'eng lu*<sup>4</sup> mention is made of both at the same time. It is there said (Palladius' translation, p. 196):—The administration of the taxes on the land north of the Yellow river was confided, in the year 1229, to *Wu-du-sa-han*, whilst the same appointment in the western countries was given to *Ya-lu-wa-ch'i*. In 1241 *Ya-la-wa-ch'i* took charge of the administration of the Chinese people. *Urtu* in mongol means "long," *sahal*, "beard." Thus *Wu-du-sa-han* seems to mean "the long-bearded." I stated above, that Ch'u-ts'ai was famed for his long beard.

In the article I am about to translate, Ye-lü Ch'u-ts'ai is not mentioned by this name, but by the name he bore as author, 湛然居士

3. 元朝秘史 A Chinese translation of a history of Tchinguiz, written originally in Mongol in the year 1240, translated into Russian by A. Palladius and published in the *Records of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission at Peking*, vol. iv.

4. 皇元聖武親征錄 Another interesting description of Tchinguiz khan's exploits, written about the close of the Yüan dynasty. Translated into Russian by A. Palladius, and published in the *Russian Oriental Record*, 1872.



*Chen-jen ka-shi*. The abstract of his work, 西遊錄 *Si yu lu*<sup>5</sup> or "An account of a journey to the west," is found in the first chapter of the 庶齋老學叢談 *Shu chai lao hio ts'ung t'an*, a book written by 如梓 *Ju-tze* in the time of the Yüan dynasty (see Wylie's *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 134), and included in the above-mentioned collection called *Chi pu tsu chai ts'ung shu*.

The author first gives the names and titles of four generations of the 耶律 *Ye-lü* family, beginning with Ch'u-ts'ai's father, and states that all left behind memoirs (集), which together form a work of 100 volumes, well known to all literary men. After this he states that *Chen-jen ka-shi* (or Ch'u-ts'ai), at the time of the rise of the Mongol empire, accompanied Tchinguiz khan on his expedition to western Asia, that he travelled fifty or sixty thousand *li* (!), that he remained six or seven years in the western countries, and that he wrote a book about his travels, which he named *Si yu lu*. As this book was very rare (even at the time the author wrote), he considered it useful to preserve an abstract of it; which he gives as follows:—

In the year 1218, in spring, in the 3rd month, (*Ye-lü Ch'u-ts'ai*) left 雲中 *Yün-chung* (the present *Ta-tung fu*, west of Peking), crossed the 天山 *T'ien shan* mountain, traversed the 大磧 *ta-tsi* (stony desert) and the 沙漠 *sha-mo* (sandy desert), and reached Tchinguiz khan's ordo (達行在所).<sup>6</sup>

In the next year (1219), a vast army was raised and set in motion towards the west. The way lay through the 金山 *Kin shan* (Chinese Altai). Even in the middle of the summer, masses of ice and snow accumulate in these mountains. The army passing that road was obliged to cut its way through the ice.<sup>7</sup> The pines and larch trees

5. This is the correct name of the book. In the Introduction to my article, vol. v, p. 126, I misspelt the second character.

6. Ch'u-ts'ai evidently went by the same route through Mongolia, by which Ch'ang-ch'un returned (see vol. v, p. 250). Ch'ang-ch'un left the country about the present Ü-lu-sai, crossed the great desert, in which he found much stones and sand, passed by the defile *Yü yang kuan*, in the *Yin shan* mountains, and arrived at *Yün-chung*. Ch'u-ts'ai states, that after leaving *Yün-chung* he crossed the *T'ien shan* mountains. This is as we know the name applied by the Chinese to the great mountain chain in central Asia, the *Celestial mountains* of our maps. But as A. Palladius kindly informs me, the mountain chain 陰山 *Yin-shan* of Chinese maps, stretching from west to east in southern Mongolia has been considered for a long time by some of the Chinese geographers as a continuation of the *Tien shan*, and therefore they sometimes use the two names promiscuously. We have seen that Ch'ang-ch'un always terms the Celestial mountains "Yin shan." The Chinese may be right in their views. A. Von Humboldt independently of the Chinese views, it seems, inclines to the same opinion, that the *Yin shan* is a continuation of the *T'ien shan*. (Ritter's *Asien*, vol. i, p. 236.)

7. Ch'ang-ch'un passed by the same way and confirms Ch'u-ts'ai's statement. (Compare vol. v, p. 185.) The country of the Chinese Altai and western Mongolia have been for long centuries completely unknown to Europeans, and all that we find on our maps regarding these countries has been borrowed from the imperfect Chinese maps. But for two or three years past Russian officers have explored these countries, and I shall especially mention Capt. Matussowsky as one of the first pioneers. I have already drawn attention to his

(檜 *Kui*)<sup>8</sup> are so high, that they (seem to) reach heaven; the valleys (in the Altai) all abounding in grass and flowers. The rivers west of the *Kin shan* all run to the west and finally discharge into a lake.<sup>9</sup> South of the *Kin shan* is 別石把 *Bie-shi-ba*,<sup>10</sup> a city of the 回鶻 *Hui-hu*.<sup>11</sup> There is a tablet (碑) of the time of the T'ang dynasty on which it is said, that here at that time was the 瀚海軍 *han-hai kün*.<sup>12</sup> The *han-hai* is

merits in these papers, whilst speaking of the *Kizilbash* lake. Lately I had the pleasure of making his acquaintance in Peking, and he was so kind as to give me all the information I desired regarding the Chinese Altai; which enables me to fill up a geographical chasm, I was obliged to leave, in commenting upon Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels, and to correct my former views. The *Chinese Altai* or *Ektag Altai*, a continuation of the Russian Altai, stretches south-eastward towards the land between the lakes of *Kizilbash* and *Ike-ara*. It is a high mountain, especially the northern portion of it, which in some places is covered with eternal snow; but it does not stretch so far to the south-east as marked on our maps; for as M. informed me, there is a good road, practicable for carts, passing only over low hills, from *Cobdo* to *Bulan-tagoi*, a Chinese city near the mouth of the *Ulungur*, which discharges into the *Kizilbash*. This was probably the way followed by Ch'ang *Ta*, for a part at least; for the present road leads also along the *Ulungur* river. There is another road much nearer between these cities, passing over a difficult defile through the Altai, known under the name of *Urmogaiti*. M. does not know this pass from personal observation, but he saw the entrances on both sides. It is practicable only in a part of the year, and only for riders. On the south-western side of the Altai, this defile leads to the sources of the *Kiran* river, an affluent of the *Black Irtysh*, and the road leads down along the *Kiran*, on which river some years ago, a new town, *Tulra*, was founded by Chinese from *Kouldja*, expelled by the Mohammedans (*Dungans*). It is situated in a fertile valley with rich pastures. The valleys of the *Irtysh* and its tributaries all present luxuriant pastures. The *Black Irtysh* at the mouth of the *Kiran* is a large river, navigable even for steamers. There are in all four defiles leading over the *Ektag Altai*, but only one of them, the above-mentioned *Urmogaiti* is practicable for riders. I have little doubt, that *Tchinguiz* with his armies, passed by this defile. In his march to the west with a numerous cavalry, he was always obliged to choose such roads as presented the most abundant pastures. Thus he arrived at the *Black Irtysh*. My view is supported by *Rashid's* statement, that *Tchinguiz* (after having crossed the Altai), passed the whole summer of 1219 at the sources of the *Irtysh*, in order to equip anew and complete his cavalry corps. (*D'Ohsson*, l. c. tom. i, pp. 212, 216.) The same statement about *Tchinguiz's* encamping on the *Yerdishi* is recorded in the *T'sin ch'eng lu* (see note 4). Ch'ang-ch'ün seems also to mention the *Black Irtysh* (see vol. v, p. 186). After having crossed the *Kin shan* (Altai), they stopped for several days near a river at a place abounding in water and grass. On Ch'ang-ch'ün's homeward journey, this river is mentioned again (see *Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels*, note 155, which is to be corrected), as a great river before crossing the *Kin shan*. The *Irtysh* is repeatedly mentioned by its very name in the *Yüan shi*, and spelt there 也兒的石 *Ye-r-di-shi*. (See *Yüan shi*, annals, years 1206, 1208, *Tchinguiz's* war with the *Naimans*.) As regards Ch'ang-ch'ün's way from the *Irtysh* to *Bishbalik* (*Urumtsi*), I showed Capt. M. this part of the narrative, and he informed me, that the Chinese author gives a perfectly correct description of this country. His way must have passed near the western shore of the *Kizilbash* lake. He does not mention it, for the lake is hid from this side by mountains. Lately Col. *Wengukoff* published a *Review of Russia's frontiers in Asia* (in Russian), and appended to his work two excellent maps, which include the greater part of the new discoveries in western Mongolia. In comparing these with our former maps, one will find that the positions of the mountains, lakes, rivers and towns have changed altogether.

8. See *Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels*, note 36, and also my note further on, at the end of my paper, regarding the *kui* tree.
9. The author speaks of the *Black Irtysh* and its western affluents. This river, as is known, discharges into the *Zaisan* lake, from the northern corner of which it comes out again, and then bears the name *Irtysh*.
10. This is ancient *Bishbalik*, now *Urumtsi*. (See *Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels*, note 59.)
11. Here *Hui-hu* must be translated by *Oigours*. (See *Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels*, note 45.)
12. *Han-hai* (literally the "northern sea") is an ancient term, but in use also in our days to designate the *Mongolian desert*, and it results from the notices of our Chinese medie-

several hundred *li* distant from the city (of Bishbalik). There is a lake with an island in it, on which a great number of birds use to mew.<sup>13</sup> West of the city (of Bishbalik), two hundred *li* distant is the city of 輪臺縣 *Lun-t'ai hien*, where also a tablet of the time of the T'ang is found.<sup>14</sup> South of the city (of Bishbalik) five hundred *li* (beyond the T'ien shan), is 和州 *Huo-chou*, the same place which at the time of the T'ang was called 高昌 *Kao-ch'ang*, and also 伊州 *Yi-chou*.<sup>15</sup> West of Kao-ch'ang three or four thousand *li* distant is the city of 五端 *Wu-duan*, which is the same as the realm of 于闐 *Yü-t'ien* of the T'ang dynasty. There is a river there, in which is found white and black jade (玉 *yü*).<sup>16</sup>

At a distance of more than a thousand *li*, after having crossed the *han-hai*,<sup>17</sup> one arrives at the city of 不刺 *Bu-la*.<sup>18</sup> South of this city

val travellers, that they understood by this name especially the elevated country between the Altai and Caracorum. As the character *kün* means "army, troops," I understand by *han-hai kün*, that here at the time of the T'ang, Chinese troops were stationed for observing the tribes in the *han-hai*.

13. The Chinese text has 有唐碑所謂瀚海軍瀚海去城數百里海中有嶼其上皆禽鳥所落羽毛. The literal meaning of the latter part of this passage would suggest, that by *han-hai* a lake is to be understood. But there is probably an error in the text, due to the abbreviation of the original. *Han-hai* is a term so well known, that Ch'ü-ts'ai hardly could have been mistaken as to its meaning, and further on in the text the *han-hai* is mentioned again, and in this case undoubtedly as a desert. It is difficult to say what lake with an island is meant; perhaps the *Ajar-nor* north-west of Urumtsi,—a lake never visited by Europeans.
14. Regarding *Lun-t'ai*, see *Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels*, note 62. In that narrative, *Lun-t'ai* is stated to be three hundred *li* distant from Bishbalik, and Ch'ang-ch'ün arrived in about four days. I stated in note 62, that according to the Han history, *Lun-t'ai* was west of Yen-ki (six hundred and eighty *li* distant), which latter answers well to the present *Kharashar*. Thus this place *Lun-t'ai* of the Han ought to be looked for south of the T'ien shan. But Ch'ang-ch'ün as well as Ch'ü-ts'ai both mention it north of these mountains, and I think their statement is more trustworthy. Probably in the Han history, six hundred and eighty *li* north west of Yen-ki is to be read.
15. Regarding *Huo-chou* or *Kharakhodjo*, see *Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels*, note 58. The author is right in identifying it with ancient *Kao-ch'ang*, but he errs with regard to *Yi-chou*; for *Yi-chou* at the time of the T'ang was the same as 伊吾盧 *Yi-wu-lu* of the Posterior Han (see *Hou han shu*, chapter 118), or the present *Hami*. Wang Yen-te a Chinese envoy, who went to *Kao-ch'ang* at the end of the tenth century, passed through 伊州 *Yi-chou*, and then proceeding westward, he mentions several places before he arrived at *Kao-ch'ang*. (Comp. Stan. Julien's translation, in his *Mélanges de Géographie Asiatique*, pp. 90-92.) The author who abbreviated Ch'ü-ts'ai's book probably made a mistake or omitted some characters.
16. *Yü-t'ien* has for a long time been recognized by our savants (see Rémusat's *Histoire de la ville de Khotan*) as answering to the *Khotan* of the Mohammedan authors. *Yü-t'ien* is an ancient Chinese name in use already two centuries before our era. (See *Ts'ien han shu*, chap. 96, "Si-yü.") *Khotan*, or *Cotan* as Marco Polo spells the name, is evidently intended by the *Wu-duan* of our Chinese traveller. Nearly the same name for this city is found in the *Yüan shi*, chap. 120, Biography of *Ho-sze-mai-li* (Ismael?). It is stated there, that after the khan of the Karakitai had been slain, the cities of 可失哈兒 *K'o-shi-ha-r* (Kashgar), 押兒牽 *Ya-r-k'ien* and 鄂端 *O-duan* (Khotan) surrendered to the Mongols. On my ancient Chinese map of the 14th century, the same name is more correctly spelt 忽炭 *Hu-t'an*.
17. The author after having spoken of several places south of his road, continues his itinerary.
18. This city is not mentioned in Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels, but it seems to be the city *Bolo*, Chang Te passed through before crossing the Talki mountains, the *Pulad* of the Mohammedan authors. (Compare *Sü shi ki*, note 40.)

is the 陰山 *Yin shan* mountain, which extends from east to west a thousand *li*, and from north to south two hundred *li*. On the top of the mountain is a lake, which is seventy or eighty *li* in circumference.<sup>19</sup> The land south of the lake is overgrown with 林檎 *lin-k'in* trees, which form such dense forests, that the sunbeams cannot penetrate.<sup>20</sup> After leaving the *Yin shan* one arrives at the city of 阿里馬 *A-li-ma*.<sup>21</sup> The western people (西人) call a *lin-k'in* (apple) *a-li-ma*,<sup>22</sup> and as all the orchards around the city abound in apple trees, the city received this name. Eight or nine other cities and towns (城邑) are subject to *A-li-ma*. In that country grapes and pears abound. The people cultivate the five kinds of grain as we do in China. West of *A-li-ma*, there is a large river, which is called 亦列 *I-lie*.<sup>23</sup> Further on, west of this river, is the city of 虎司窩魯朵 *Hu-sze wo-lu-do* the capital of the *Si-liao* (Karakitai). Several tens of cities are subject to it.<sup>24</sup> To the west of *Hu-sze wo-lu-do* several hundred *li*, is the city of 塔

19. By *Yin shan* here the *Talki* or *Borokhoro* mountains north of Kouldja are meant; the lake mentioned is the *Sairan*. (Compare *Ch'ang-ch'un's travels*, notes 72 and 154, and *Si shi ki*, note 45.)

20. The *Pen ts'ao kang mu* (book xxx, fol. 16) identifies the *lin-k'in* with the 沙菓 *sha-kuo*. This is in Peking a small red apple. The drawing of the *lin-k'in* in the Chinese botany *Chi wu ming shi* fu *K'ao*, book xxx, fol. i, leaves no doubt about its being an apple.

21. *Almalik*, the present Kouldja. (See *Ch'ang-ch'un's travels*, note 72, and *Si shi ki*, note 45.)

22. Indeed the Kirghiz, Tartars and other natives of Turk origin call an apple *alam*.

23. This is the river *Il*. *Ch'ang-ch'un* on his way back crossed this river a hundred *li* west of *Almalik*. *Rashid-addin* calls the *Il* river *Hild*. (See *Si shi ki*, note 40.) *Il* seems to be a very ancient name, for it is mentioned in the History of the T'ang dynasty, in the 7th century. (See *T'ang shu*, chap. 255b.) In the article 西突厥 *Si Tu-k'ue* (Western Turks), the name of the river 伊麗 *I-li*, occurs frequently.

24. The three last characters of the name, *wo-lu-do* are intended for "ordo." (See *Ch'ang-ch'un's travels*, note 9.) Probably the author speaks of the residence of the khans of Karakitai on the *Ch'ui* river (see *Ch'ang-ch'un's travels*, note 83), also alluded to in the *Si shi ki* (see note 56). In the above-mentioned article on the *Si-liao* in the *Liao shi* (see *Pei shi ki*, note 11) it is stated, that *Ye-lü Ta-shi* in his peregrinations to the west pushed on as far as 起

兒漫 *K'i-r-man*, where he was proclaimed emperor, and two years later (1126) re-conducted his army back to the east. After a march of twenty days, they arrived at a fertile country, where a city was built and called 虎思斡耳朵 *Hu-sze wa-r-do*. *Visdelon* explains this name by "le fort palais." I do not know in what language *hu-sze* means "strong;" perhaps he means the Manchu *hosun*—"strength." I am not inclined to suppose, that by *K'i-r-man* the city of *Kirman* in southern Persia is meant, but rather *Kermine* a place repeatedly mentioned by *Rashid* and situated between Samarcand and Bokhara. Then *Hu-sze wa-r-do* might be looked for on the *Ch'ui* river. This city is mentioned also in the *Yüan shi*, chapter 120, Biography of *Ho-sze-mai-li*, in the following terms:—"He was a man from the *Si-yü* (Turkestan), a native of the city of 谷則斡兒朵 *Gu-dse wa-r-do*, and a confidant of the 闊兒罕 *K'uo-r-han* of the *Si-liao* (the *Gourkhan* of Karakitai). He governed the two cities 可散 *K'o-san* and 八思哈 *Ba-sze-ha*, subject to *Gu-dse wa-r-do*. At the time *Telinguiz* conducted his armies to western Asia, *Ho-sze-mai-li* surrendered together with the chiefs of these two cities. (*Ho-sze-mai-li* became afterwards an excellent general in *Telinguiz* khan's army.) Regarding the two cities *K'o-san* and *Ba-sze-ha*, the first is marked on my ancient Chinese map, south-east of *Tashkend*. The Mohammedan authors call it *Kassan* (see note 26 further on). I know nothing about *Ba-sze-ha*.

喇思 *T'a-la-sze*.<sup>25</sup> From this place four hundred *li* and more to the south-west are the cities 苦蓋 *K'u-djan*, 八普 *Ba-p'u*, 可傘 *K'o-san* and 芭欖 *Ba-lan*.<sup>26</sup>

*K'u-djan* (Khodjend) abounds in pomegranates. They are as large as two fists and of a sweet acid taste. People take from three to five and press out the juice into a vessel. That makes a delicious beverage for slaking the thirst.<sup>27</sup>

Around the city of *Ba-lan* there are everywhere *ba-lan* (almond) gardens; hence the name. (See note 26.) The blossoms of the *ba-lan* tree resemble those of the apricot, only they are a little paler. The leaves are like the leaves of the peach tree, but a little narrower and smaller. The blossoms appear in winter, the fruits ripen in summer.<sup>28</sup>

In *Ba-p'u* are large water-melons, weighing 50 pounds each. A donkey.<sup>29</sup> can only carry two at the same time.

To the north-west of *K'u-djan* (Khodjend) there is the city of 訛打刺 *O-ta-la*. More than ten other cities are subject to it. One time the chief of this place ordered several envoys (of Tchinguiz) and several hundreds of merchants (who were with them), to be put to death, and seized upon their goods. That was the cause of the army being directed against the western people.<sup>30</sup>

25. The city of *Talas* on the river of same name. (See *Ch'ang-ch'ui's travels*, notes 78, 80, and *Si shi ki*, note 59.)

26. *K'u-djan* is Khodjend on the Yaxartes. *K'o-san* already mentioned in note 24, is described by sultan Baber as a small city of *Fergana*, under the name of *Kassan*; and *Ba-lan* may be identified with *Badam*, according to Baber a place subject to Khodjend, and famed for its almonds. (Compare Klaproth's *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*, tom. II, pp. 144, 145.) We have seen (vol. v, p. 198) that *Ch'ang-ch'ui* spelt *badam*, (which is the Persian name for almonds) = *ba-lan*. On a new Russian map of Khokand and the adjacent countries, reproduced in Petermann's *Geogr. Mitth.* 1874, pt. vi, there is a place *Kanbadam* between Khodjend and Khokand near the Sir-daria. On the same map a city *Kassan* is also marked north of the Sir-daria, north-west of Namangan. I do not know what place is meant by *Ba-p'u*, but there must have been a place of a similar name in ancient Fergana, for my ancient Chinese map marks a place 巴補 *Ba-bu* between *K'o-san* and *Ma-ri-nang* (Marghinan).

27. The Chinese call the pomegranate 石榴 *shi-lin*. It is not indigenous to China, but was introduced from western Asia in early times. (See *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, book xxx, fol. 22.) In China the fruit is not eatable (at least at Peking); the shrub is only cultivated as an ornamental plant. For further particulars, see my *Notes on Chinese botanical works*, p. 16.

28. This is quite a correct description of the almond tree (*amygdalus communis*), which resembles much the peach tree (*amygdalus persica*), only the fruit is different. *Li Shi-chen*, the author of the *Pen ts'ao kang mu* (16th cent.) gives (book xxix, fol. 10) a more detailed description of the almond, which he states to grow in the country of the Mohammedans. He spells the name 巴旦杏 *ba-dan hing* = "ba-dan apricot," and thus renders quite correctly the Persian "badam."

29. The Chinese text has 長耳 *ch'ang-erh*, the "long-eared," a favorite and it seems, poetical expression for "donkey" in the 13th century; for the same term occurs in one of *Ch'ang-ch'ui*'s odes. (See note 121.)

30. *O-ta-la* is the ancient city of *Otrar* in Transoxiana, the ruins of which are marked on some of our maps, — whether correctly I am not prepared to say, — north-west of Tchimbkend, near the Sir-daria. My ancient Chinese map places 兀提刺兒 *U-t'i-lar* (evidently the same name) south-east of Sairam (which is near Tchimbkend). Perhaps this may be an error. *Ch'u-t'ai* agrees perfectly with the Persian authors in his statement about the

West<sup>31</sup> of O-ta-la more than a thousand *li*, is a large city called 尋思干 *Sün-se-kan*. Western people say, that the meaning of this name is "fat" (肥 *fei*), and as the land there is very fertile, the city received this name.<sup>32</sup> The country there is very rich and populous. They have gold and copper coins, but the coins are not provided with holes (as in China), nor have they rims (郭—as the Chinese coins have). Around the city to an extent of several tens of *li*, there are everywhere orchards, groves, flower gardens, aqueducts, running springs, square basins and round ponds, in uninterrupted succession; indeed Sün-sze-kan is a delicious place. The water-melons there are as large as a horse's head. Regarding grain and vegetables however, the 黍 *shu*, the 糯 *no* and the 大豆 *ta-tou* are not found there.<sup>33</sup> It does not rain there in summer. People make wine from grapes. There are mulberry trees, but not fit for the breeding of silkworms. All clothes are made of 屈陶 *kü-sün*.<sup>34</sup>

cause of the war with Khovaresm. *Gairkhan Inaldjou*, governor of Otrar had killed Tehinguiiz khan's envoys, sent along with a large caravan of merchants to Mohamed of Khovaresm. In the *Yüen shi*, annals, 1219, the name of this governor of Otrar is spelt

哈只兒只蘭禿 *Ha-dji-r dji-lan-t'o*.

31. West probably a misprint for south or south-west.

32. The etymological note of the Chinese author regarding the name of Samarcand seems to be perfectly correct. We have seen in Ch'ang-ch'ün's narrative that the name of Samarcand is once written 尋思干 *Sün-sze-kan*, but generally the name is spelt there 邪迷思干 *Sie-mi-sze-kan*. The Nestorian bishops of the middle ages wrote the name also *Semiscant* (see Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels, note 93). I find in Rhasis' *Vocabulaire Français Turc*, "gras" (fat) = *semiz*, and the same equivalent for the word "fat" in a vocabulary of the Kirghiz language by *Ilmisky* (Kazan, 1861, in Russian). I need not mention, that the Turks of our days, the Kirghiz, Calmucs, Tartars etc. are all descendants of that great family of Turks (the *Tu-küe* of the Chinese authors), who for long centuries played an important part in Asiatic history, and extended their power to the west as far as the Oxus. I find in Vullers' *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*, *kand* translated by "pagus."

33. The *shu* is a Chinese variety of *panicum miliaceum*, the "common millet." When boiled it becomes very glutinous. *No* is the "glutinous rice" also, I think, peculiar to eastern Asia. *Ta-tou* is the "soy bean," *soja hispida*, a very important vegetable in eastern Asia. For further particulars regarding these plants, see my *Notes on Chinese botanical works*, pp. 8, 9.

34. I am not aware, whether, this passage is intended to suggest, that in Samarcand silk was unknown at that time. Perhaps the author only notices the existence of mulberry trees there, not fit for breeding silkworms. Then he is right. The mulberry trees in China (several varieties of *morus alba*) are all fit for silkworms, whilst *morus nigra*, that splendid tree of western Asia, is cultivated only for its delicious blackish red fruits. It is well known, that the art of breeding silkworms and probably also the white mulberry tree, have been introduced from China into western Asia; it is not certain at what time. (Compare the learned dissertations on this subject in Ritter's *Asien*, vol. viii, p. 481.) But it is certain, that at the time Ch'ü-ts'ai was in Samarcand, silk was produced there; for even *Ebn Haukal*, in the 10th century mentions raw silk, as one of the principal products of Transoxiana. In the mountains west of Peking, and also in the Peking plain, the mulberry tree is very common. It has generally blackish red fruit, smaller than the fruit of *morus nigra*, and of insipid taste. Even the Chinese, these omnivorous people, do not like them. Mulberry trees with white fruit are not so frequently met with at Peking. The leaves of the Peking mulberry trees are distinguished by the great variety they present in their shape (entire, lobed, lacerated etc.) My friend Mr. Maximowicz the well-known Russian botanist, to whom we are so much indebted for our knowledge of the east Asiatic flora, possesses specimens of the Peking mulberry trees, and has kindly informed me, that both the black and the white fruited, are only varieties of *morus alba*, the silkworm mulberry; the black is var. *hongcana*, Bureau; the white = var. *stylosa*, Bureau. With regard to *kü-sün*, it seems to be the name of a stuff, probably cotton. I find in *Ebn Beithar* translated



The white colour for cloths is considered as of good omen, whilst black is the mourning colour; wherefore all cloths seen there are white.<sup>35</sup>

West of *Sin-sze-kan* (Samarcand) six to seven hundred *li*, is the city of 蒲華 *P'u-hua*. It abounds in every kind of product, and is richer than Samarcand. There is the residence of the 梭里檀 *so-li-t'an* of the 謀速魯蠻 *Mou-su-lu-man* people. The cities of *K'u-djan* (Khodjend), *O-ta-la* (Otrar) etc. all depend on *P'u-hua*.<sup>36</sup>

West of *P'u-hua* (Bokhara) there is a great river (the Amu-daria), flowing to the west (it must be north-west), which enters a sea (the Aral sea). West of this river is the city of 五里驍 *U-li-gien*, where the mother of the *so-li-t'an* is living. This city is still more rich and populous than Bokhara.<sup>37</sup>

To the west (again a mistake for south), near the western border of the same great river (Amu-daria) is the city of 班 *Ban*;<sup>38</sup> and west of it the city of 甄 *Chuan*.<sup>39</sup> Direct west (a misprint for south), one reaches the city of the black 印度 *Yin-du*.<sup>40</sup> Their writings are not in accordance with Buddhist writings (佛國字 Sanscrit), as regards the letters

by Sontheimer, vol. ii, p. 304, *kassan* = "cotton."

35. It is known, that the Chinese, who in their customs, feelings, ideas &c. are generally in diametrical opposition to the views of western people, consider white as the mourning colour.
36. *P'u-hua* is Bokhara, the celebrated city of the Mohammedans. The name is more correctly spelt 不花刺 *Bu-hua-la* on my ancient Chinese map. In the *Yüan shi* it is termed 卜哈兒 *Bu-ha-er* (annals, year 1221). At the time spoken of, Bokhara belonged to Mohamed, sultan of Khovaresm, whose capital was in Urgendj, near the present Khiva. But he often resided also in Bokhara and was, according to Rashid, in that city, just when Tchinguiz appeared in Transoxiana.
37. *U-li-gien* can be identified with *Urgendj*, the ancient capital of Khovaresm. Col. Yule in his *Cathay*, p. 232, states, that ancient Urgendj stood on both banks of the Oxus, with a bridge connecting them, and that new Urgendj, or the present commercial capital of Khiva is some sixty miles east of the site of the old city, near the present channel of the Oxus. But that seems not to agree with the new Russian map of Khiva (reproduced in Petermann's *Geogr. Mitth.* 1873, pt. v) where *Yeni* (new) *Urgendj* is marked east of Khiva, near the Oxus; and *Kania* (ancient) *Urgendj* about eighty miles north-west of Khiva, (now) far west of the Oxus. In Petermann's *Mitth.* 1874, p. 25, it is stated, that this city was destroyed in 1388 by Tamerlan. The *Yüan shi* spells the name of Urgendj = 丫儿-郎-吉-儿 (see vol. v, p. 120). On my ancient Chinese map I do not find Urgendj; but instead of it 花刺子模 *Hua-la-sze-mo*, which denotes it seems *Khovaresm*. On this map, made, as I stated about 1330, the frontiers between Persia, Kiptchak and the dominions of Tchagatai's successors are marked, and *Hua-la-sze-mo* is placed in Kiptchak, but just at the point where the three realms join each other. Rashid states (D'Ohsson, tom. i, pp. 251-260), that after Tchinguiz khan's arrival in Transoxiana, Mohamed of Khovaresm fled to Iran, whilst his mother, the energetic *Turkan khatoun*, remained in Urgendj and ruled the country. But afterwards he advised his mother to retire to the mountains of Mazanderan. There she was made prisoner by the Mongols, and then brought to Mongolia. She died at Caracorum in 1233.
38. The city of *Balkh*. (See *Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels*, note 140.)
39. This seems to be the same city as mentioned in *Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels*, west of his road, and west of the Amu-daria and *Balkh* (see note 139a). But the name is written there 團 *Tuan*.
40. It is difficult to say what city of Hindustan is meant. In any case the author speaks not from his own observation. Rashid reports, that Tchinguiz after having pursued Djelal-ed-din as far as the *Sindh*, sent his generals Bela and Tourtai to India (the same is stated in the *Yüan shi*). They besieged *Montan*, but could not take it, owing to the excessive heat, which obliged them to withdraw.

and the pronunciation. There are very many idols of Buddha. The people do not kill cows or sheep; they only drink the milk of these animals. Snow is unknown there. Every year they reap two crops. It is so hot there, that a vessel of tin put in the sand melts immediately. Even by moonlight one is hurt like on a (China) summer day (by sunbeams).

In the south there is a great river, the water of which is as cold as ice. It runs very rapidly and discharges itself into the southern sea.<sup>41</sup> In that country much sugar-cane (甘蔗 *kan-che*) is cultivated. The people make wine and sugar from the juice.

To the north-west of *Yin-du* (Hindustan) is the realm of 可弗叉 *K'o-fu-ch'a*. For several thousand *li* on every side are plains, and no more hills are met with. They have no cities or towns but breed much cattle and horses. They make a fermented beverage from honey. In that country the days (in summer) are long and the nights short. In little more than the time necessary to cook a mutton chop, the sun rises again.<sup>42</sup> *K'o-fu-ch'a* is the same country as 骨利幹 *Ku-li-kan*,<sup>43</sup> about which the T'ang history reports the same. But the name

41. No doubt the *Indus* or *Sindh* is meant, the upper course of which was reached by Tchinguiz khan himself. The *Yüan ch'ao mǐ shi* (see note 3) states (Palladius' translation, l. c. p. 142), that Tchinguiz pursued *Djelal-eddin* to the river 申 *Shin*, where almost the whole army of the latter was drowned. In the narrative of *Fa-hien* the Buddhist monk, who went to India about A. D. 400, the name of this river is spelt 信度 *Sin-du*. Hsüan-tsang in the 7th century calls it *Sin*. (Comp. Stan. Julien's *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, tom. i, p. 104.)

42. Although the author determines so vaguely the position of *K'o-fu-ch'a*, there can, however, be no doubt, that he means the large plains of southern Russia, and north and east of the Caspian sea, mentioned by the Persian authors under the name of *Desht Kiptchac*. The *Kiptchac* (D'Herbelot, l. c. writes the name *Captchak*) were a nomadic people belonging to the race of the Turks. The same were known by their neighbors the Russians as *Polotsky*. Under that name they are often mentioned in the Russian annals. The Romans and Hungarians called them *Coumans*. (Comp. D'Ohsson, l. c. tom. i, p. 338.) At the time Ch'u-t'ai was in western Asia, the country of the *Kiptchac* was little known to the Mongols, and probably only from hearsay. It was only in 1236 that *Kiptchac* was conquered by the Mongol armies, but the Mongols met the *Kiptchac* first in 1223, north of the Caucasus. In that year mention is first made of the *Kiptchac* in the *Yüan shi*, under the name of 金察 *Kin-ch'a*, and afterwards they are always so termed. In the biography of *Su-bu-tai*, an illustrious Mongol general (*Yüan shi*, chap. 122), it is stated, that this general (starting from Persia with a Mongol corps) passing round the large sea called 田吉思 *Tien-gi-sze* (*tenghiz* = "sea" in the Turk languages. Here the *Caspian sea* is meant), arrived at the great chain of mountains, called 大和嶺 *Ta-ho ling* (lit. "the great mountain of peace," = the *Caucasus*). A road was cut through this mountain; on the other (northern) side of which the Mongols met several tribes, and also the army of the *Kin-ch'a*, etc. A new expedition was undertaken by the Mongols against the *Kiptchac* or *Kin-ch'a*, north of the Caspian sea in 1236. This is also described in the *Yüan shi* with some detail. The fermented beverage, made of honey, mentioned by the Chinese author, is up to our days a favorite beverage of the Russian people. They call it *miad*, which is also the name for "honey." Whether they are indebted to the *Kiptchac* for his invention, I am not prepared to say.

43. The country of the *Ku-li-kan* is spoken of in the History of the T'ang (618-907. *T'ang shu*, chap. 257b), but can by no means be identified with *Kiptchac*, as the Chinese author suggests. It seems, to be an identification, not of Ch'u-t'ai, but of the author who made the abstract of his work. The name *Ku-li-kan* at the time of the T'ang evidently referred to

is not the same; probably it has changed in the long course of time.

a people of Siberia, as will be seen from the description:—"The *Ku-li-kan* are a nomadic people living north of the 瀚海 *han-hai* (the north-western part of the Mongolian desert; see note 12). In their country the plant 百合 *po-ho* grows. They have excellent horses with heads like camels. This country is very far from the Chinese capital. It is bounded on the north by the sea (the polar sea). After having crossed the *han-hai* to the north, the days become long and the nights short. After sunset one has no time to roast a sheep's liver, till the sun rises again." What people are meant by the *Ku-li-kan* cannot be investigated. We know nothing regarding the history of Siberia at so early a period. I may be allowed to mention *en passant* that the name of *Siberia* must be of ancient origin. Rashid states (D'Ohsson, tom. i) that the country north of the Angara river is called *Ibir Sibir*. The same name occurs also once in the *Yüan shih*, chap. 121, Biography of *Yü-wu-shih*, who is stated there to have given battle in the country 亦必兒失必兒 *I-bi-r Shi-bi-r* to the prince *Hui-du*, who revolted from Coublai khan. In the *Yün chiao ni shi* (see Palladius' translation, p. 132), the name occurs even at an earlier period. It is stated there, that in 1206 Tchinguiz khan's son *Djudji* subdued all the tribes who lived in the forests (*oriangoutes sylvestres* of Rashid) south of *Shibir*. As to the plant *po-ho* mentioned in the *T'ang shu*, as a product of *Ku-li-kan*, and also of other countries answering to northern Mongolia and Siberia (it is stated, that the people make gruel of it). I can give the following explanation. *Po-ho* in China is a common name for *lily*, and the plant mentioned here is *lilium spectabile*, Link., the bulbs of which are much eaten by the Mongols and the tribes of southern Siberia; a fact noticed already by *Pallas* in the last century, and confirmed by Mr. Maximowicz in his *Flora Amurensis*. Rashid mentions the roots of a plant, which the Mongols eat, and which they call *soudoussoun*. It is an interesting fact that the roots of a plant *sudu* or *sudasoun* are eaten up to this time by the Mongols. Not having seen these roots, I am not able to decide whether they belong to *lilium spectabile*. A Russian gentleman, who saw the *sudu* roots in Mongolia, informed me, that they are of cylindrical shape. In any case, *Mailla* is wrong in identifying the root mentioned by Rashid and spoken of also in the *Yüan shi* (where they bear no peculiar name), with *ginseng*, probably the only Chinese plant *Mailla* knew. (Compare D'Ohsson, l. c. tom. i, p. 27, and *Mailla's Histoire de la Chine*, tom. ix, p. 5.)

## CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONAL ILLUSTRATIONS.

### NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION.

Page 2. Russian grand-dukes at the court of the Great Khan. The grand-duke Yaroslav of Vladimir at first sent his son *Constantin* to Ogotai khan. *Constantin* returned in 1245, and then *Yaroslav* was forced himself to repair to the Great Khan. He arrived in 1246, and had to exculpate himself before *Coujone*, on account of different accusations. Then he was given permission to return, and died on his way home, on the 12th of September, 1246. There was a suspicion, that he had been poisoned by order of *Coujone*. His body was however carried to Russia. The grand-duke *Alexander Newsky* of Novgorod was also obliged to bow before the Great Khan. He made the journey to Caracorum accompanied by his brother *Andreï*, and returned in 1249. Compare *Karamzin's History of Russia*.

Page 3. I have erroneously stated, that *Haiton* went to the court of *Coujone* khan in 1246. In this year *Haiton* sent his brother *Sempad* to *Coujone*, and went himself in 1254 to the court of *Mangou* khan.

Page 9, line 13, after "Il—insert (les Ouigours).

### NOTES TO CH'ANG-CH'UN'S TRAVELS.

A. Palladius has appended to his translation of the *Si yu ki*, translations of several letters from the correspondence between Tchinguiz khan and Ch'ang-ch'ün. I may be allowed to give an English version of two of them, with the view of enabling the reader to form a judgment of the character and mode of thought of these illustrious men. Tchinguiz in his simplicity professes such sound principles for governing people, and his words express such deep verities, that they would be valid even in our days, and for our countries. On the other side, Ch'ang-ch'ün inspires sympathy by his modesty, candor and sincerity. He seems to have been endowed with high intelligence, knowing well his time and human nature. This was the reason that Tchinguiz, who was about to include northern China in his empire, laid such great stress upon his advice. But there was yet another reason for which Tchinguiz was impatient to make the sage's acquaintance. According to A. Palladius (l. c. p. 262), Ch'ang-ch'ün belonged to

the northern Taoist school,—to the sect of the 金蓮 *kin lien* or “golden lotus,” the professors of which called themselves 全真 *ts'ien-chen* or “the perfect true” and sainted men. They were all adepts in spiritual alchemy, *i.e.* they looked in the spiritual world for the 丹 *tan*, or philosopher's stone, the secret of immortality, etc., which mysteries had been vainly searched after for centuries by material alchemists. We have seen, that one of the first questions Tchinguiz addressed to Ch'ang-ch'un at his first audience, was: “Have you a medicine of immortality?” There is a tradition, that the conqueror in his veneration for the sage, went so far as to propose to him his daughter in marriage, and that the latter escaped from this imperial honor, only by performing a surgical operation on his body. It is a curious fact that Tchinguiz khan and Ch'ang-ch'un died in the same year and in the same month, *i.e.* in the 7th month of 1227. With reference to Tchinguiz khan's letter to Ch'ang-ch'un, I need not mention, that it was not written by himself; he could not write in any language. Probably the ideas of the conqueror were taken down by a Chinese in his suite;—very likely by Ye-lü C'hu-ts'ai. The letter I translate is written in a classical Chinese style.

Tchinguiz khan's correspondence with Ch'ang-ch'un is found in the 輟耕錄 *Ch'e keng lu*, a book written at the close of the Yuan dynasty, chap. 10, article 丘真人 *K'iu chen-jen*. *K'iu*=Ch'ang-ch'un's family name; *chen-jen*=“the man of the truth (Taoist).”

Tchinguiz khan wrote to Ch'ang-ch'un.

“Heaven has abandoned China owing to its haughtiness and extravagant luxury. But I, living in the northern wilderness (北野), have not inordinate passions. I like simplicity and purity of manners. I hate luxury, and exercise moderation. I have only one coat and one food (一衣一食). I eat the same food and am dressed in the same tatters as my humble herdsmen.” I consider the people my children, and take an interest in talented men as if they were my brothers. We always agree in our principles, and we are always united by mutual affection. At military exercises I am always in the front, and in time of battle am never behind. In the space of seven years I have succeeded in accomplishing a great work, and united the whole world in one empire. I have not myself distinguished qualities, but the government of the *Kin* is inconstant, and therefore Heaven assists me to obtain the throne (of the *Kin*). The *Sung* to the south, the *Hui-ho* to the north,† the *Hia* to the east, and the barbarians in the west, all together have acknowledged my supremacy. It seems to me, that since the remote time of our *shan-yü*‡ such a vast empire has not been seen. But as my calling is high, the obligations incumbent on me are also heavy; and I fear, that in my ruling there may be something wanting. To cross a river we make boats and rubbers. Likewise we invite sage men and choose out assistants for keeping the empire in good order. Since the time I came to the throne, I have always taken to heart the ruling of my people; but I could not find worthy men to occupy the places of the *three* (*kung*) and the *nine* (*k'ing*).§ With respect to these circumstances I inquired and heard, that thou master hast penetrated the truth, and that thou walkest in the path of right. Deeply learned and much experienced, thou hast much explored the laws. Thy sanctity is become manifest. Thou hast conserved the rigorous rules of the ancient sages. Thou art endowed with the eminent talents of celebrated men. For a long time thou hast lived in the caverns of the rocks and hast retired from the world; but to thee the people who have acquired sanctity repair, like clouds on the path of the immortals, in innumerable multitudes. I knew, that after the war thou hadst continued to live in Shantung at the same place, and I was always thinking of thee. I know the stories of the returning from the river *Wei* in the same cart, and of the invitations in the reed hut three times repeated.¶ But what shall I do? We are separated by mountains and plains of great extent, and I cannot meet thee. I can only descend from my throne and stand by the side.¶ I have

\* A. Palladius states that the gown of Tchinguiz khan, made of simple stuff, was kept as a relic by his successors, the Mongol emperors of China.

† There is some confusion as to the position assigned to these nations.

‡ Regarding the *shan-yü*, the khans of the ancient Hsiung-nu in Mongolia, see note 42. Tchinguiz says 我單于 *wo shan yu*, “our *shan-yü*.” This proves that he considered the ancient Hsiung-nu the ancestors of the Mongols. Klaproth's investigations have proved that they belong to different races.

§ 三九之位. The 三公 *san kung* and the 九卿 *ku k'ing* are meant. Since the time of the Chou dynasty, 1122–249 B. C. the three *kung* were the highest councillors of the empire; the nine *k'ing* occupied different parts of the administration.

¶ This is an allusion to two examples from Chinese history, that sages had been invited by emperors to occupy high charges. Wen wang, the virtual founder of the Chou dynasty found an old man fishing in the river *Wei*, whose conversation proved so sage, that the prince begged him to enter his service as minister, and took him along with him in his cart. The other allusion refers to Chu Ko-liang, who was sought out by Liu Pei, the founder of the Shu Han dynasty, whom his fame for wisdom had reached. He was found (A. D. 207) inhabiting a reed hut and was with difficulty persuaded to abandon his hermit's life.

¶ Tchinguiz proposes to Ch'ang-ch'un that he should take his (Tchinguiz's) place in governing.

fasted and washed.\* I have ordered my adjutant *Liu Chung-lu*† to prepare an escort and a simple cart for thee.‡ Do not be afraid of the thousand *li*; I implore thee to move thy sainted steps. Do not think of the extent of the sandy desert. Commiserate the people in the present situation of affairs, or have pity upon me and communicate to me the means of preserving life. I shall serve thee myself; I hope, that at least thou wilt leave me a trifle of thy wisdom.§ Say only one word to me and I shall be happy. In this letter I have briefly expressed my thoughts, and hope that thou wilt understand them. I hope also, that thou, having penetrated the principles of the *great tao*, sympathizest with all that is right, and wilt not resist the wishes of the people.”

“Given on the 1st day of the 5th month, 1219.”

*Ch'ang-ch'ün's answer to Tchingüiz khan.*

“**丘處機** *K'iu Ch'ü-ki* from *Si-hia hien*,|| devoted to the *tao*, received lately from afar the most high decree. I must observe that all the people near the sea-shore (i.e. of Shantung, Ch'ang-ch'ün's native country) are without talent. I confess that in worldly matters I am dull, and have not succeeded in investigating the *tao*, although I tried hard in every possible way; I have got old and am not yet dead. My repute has spread over all kingdoms, but as to my sanctity I am not better than ordinary people; and when I look inwards, I am deeply ashamed of myself. Who knows my hidden thoughts? Before this I have had several invitations from the southern capital,¶ and from the *Sung*, and have not gone. But now at the first call of the *Dragon court*,\*\* I am ready. Why? I have heard that the emperor has been gifted by Heaven with such valour and wisdom, as has never been seen in ancient times or in our own days. Majestic splendor is accompanied by justice. The Chinese people as well as the barbarians have acknowledged the Emperor's supremacy. At first I was undecided whether I would hide myself in the mountains, or flee into the sea (to an island), but I dared not oppose the Order. I decided to brave frost and snow, in order to be once presented to the Emperor. I heard at first, that Your Majesty's chariot was not farther than north of **桓州** *Huan-chou* and **撫州** *Fu chow*.†† But after arriving in *Yen* (Peking), I was informed that it had moved far away, it was not known how many thousand *li*. Storm and dust never cease, obscuring the heavens; I am old and infirm, and fear that I shall be unable to endure the pains of such a long journey, and that perhaps I cannot reach Your Majesty; and even should I reach (I would not be good for anything). Public affairs and affairs of war are not within my capacity. The doctrine of *tao* teaches to restrain the passions, but that is a very difficult task. Considering these reasons I conferred with *Liu Chung-lu*, and asked him that I might wait in *Yen* (Peking), or in *Ts'ing* (now *Pao-an chow*) the return of Your Majesty. But he would not agree to that, and thus I myself undertook to lay my case before the Emperor. I am anxious to satisfy the desire of Your Majesty, and to brave frost and snow; wherefore I solicit the decision (whether I shall start or wait). We were four, who at the same time became ordained monks. Three have attained sanctity. Only I have underservedly the repute of a sainted man. My appearance is parched, my body is weak. I am waiting for Your Majesty's order.”

“Written in the 3rd month of 1220.”

In note 7, I suggested, that, as regards the length of a Chinese *li* in the middle ages, it may be estimated at 0.38 English mile, or 1 English mile=2.6 *li*. I borrowed this estimate from Dr. Williams' *Middle Kingdom*, vol. ii, p. 155, which states, that before Europeans came

• **齋戒沐浴**, a Chinese phrase of politeness meaning, that the host has worthily prepared himself to receive the guest. The phrase in its literal meaning—“fast and wash” would seem strange from the lips of Tchingüiz. Rashid-eddin reports, that it was a rule amongst the Mongols, never to wash or bathe themselves. The Mussulmans in Mongolia, who sometimes infringed these rules were put to death. It seems that the Mongols of the present time follow conscientiously these practices of their ancestors.

† See Ch'ang-ch'ün's travels, note 8.

‡ In ancient times in China, the emperor used to send a cart for the sages when inviting them. (Palladius.)

§ **咳唾餘** literally: “spit out a little.”

|| *K'iu*=“Ch'ang-ch'ün's family name;” *Ch'ü-ki*, another name of the sage. *Si-hia hien* was his native place.

¶ The southern capital, **南京** *Nan-king*, at the time of the *Kin* dynasty was the present *K'ai-feng fu*, the residence of the *Kin* emperor after Peking had been taken by Tchingüiz. Compare also note 1.

\*\* **龍庭** *Lung-ting*. He means the Mongol court.

†† Ancient *Huan-chou*, according to the *Ta ts'ing yi t'ung chi*, was to the north-east of the *Tu-shi-k'ou* gate (Great wall), a hundred and eighty *li* distant, where the present *Kurtunbalsan* stands. Regarding *Fu chow*, see note 17.

to China, the Chinese *li* was larger than now, namely=2028 feet English, or 2.6 *li* to a mile. In his new dictionary Dr. Williams states, that the Chinese *li* has been of various lengths, from 1158 to 1894 feet at different times, the latter cipher representing the present length of a *li*. Morrison, in his dictionary, reckons about 3½ *li* to an English mile. But having often had opportunity of comparing distances given by the Chinese with our measures, I came to the conclusion, that we make no considerable error in taking the Chinese *li* of our days at *three*=one English mile, and it can be proved from ancient itineraries of the 11th and 12th centuries, that the length of the Chinese *li* has not changed since that time. In the 大金國志 *Ta kin kuo chi*, or "History of the *Kin* nation," chap. 40, fol. 1, there is the detailed itinerary of *Hü*, an envoy of the *Sung*, sent in A. D. 1123, from 臨安府 *Lín-an fu* (the capital of the *Sung*, the present *Hang-chou fu*) to 會寧府 *Hui-níng fu* or 上京 *Shang king*, the residence of the *Kin* emperor, in northern Manchuria, near the *Sungari* river (許奉使行程錄). I shall compare some of the distances given there, with the itinerary of the same route as found in the 示我周行 *Shi wo chou hing*, a guide for the trade routes in China, published in the second half of the last century; and I shall choose for this purpose, the stretch from *Hüing-hien* through *Peking* to *Yü-p'ien hien*. The envoy estimates the distance between *Lín-an fu* (*Hang-chou fu*) and *Hüing chou* at 3270 *li*. The *Shi wo chou hing* has 2815 *li* for the same distance. The envoy gives no details regarding his journey to *Hüing chou*. He may possibly have travelled by the rivers, or gone some other than the direct way. His itinerary begins with *Hüing chou* (now *Hüing hien*), at that time at the northern frontier of the *Sung* empire.

|      | NAMES OF PLACES                     | ENVOY OF 12th CENT. | MERCHANTS' GUIDE OF LAST CENT. |
|------|-------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| From | 雄州 <i>Hüing chou</i> (Envoy)=       |                     |                                |
|      | 雄縣 <i>Hüing hien</i> (Merch. guide) |                     |                                |
| to   | 新城縣 <i>Sin-ching hien</i> ...       | 70 <i>li</i> ...    | 60 <i>li</i> .                 |
| "    | 涿州 <i>Cho chou</i> ..               | 60 " ...            | 60 "                           |
| "    | 良鄉縣 <i>Liáng-hiang hien</i> ...     | 70 " ...            | 60 "                           |
| "    | 盧溝 <i>Lu-kou</i> river (Envoy)*—    |                     |                                |
|      | <i>Lu-kou</i> bridge (Merch. guide) | 30 " ...            | 30 "                           |
| "    | 燕山府 <i>Yen-shan fu</i> (Envoy)†     |                     |                                |
|      | — <i>Peking</i> (Merch. guide) ...  | 30 " ...            | 30 "                           |
| "    | 三河縣 <i>San-ho hien</i> ...          | 111 " ...           | 150 "                          |
| "    | 薊州 <i>Ki chou</i> ...               | 70 " ...            | 60 "                           |
| "    | 玉田縣 <i>Yü-p'ien hien</i> ...        | 80 " ...            | 70 "                           |

The reader will observe from this comparative table, that the distances between the same places as given by the Envoy, and the modern Merchants' guide, sometimes agree, but sometimes the distances given in the Merchants' guide are greater, at other times less. It may therefore be assumed, that the Chinese *li* of the middle ages was about the same as the *li* of our days, of which three make an English mile. I have seen another itinerary, the 宋王會奉使錄略 relating to the 10th or 11th century, and embracing the same route to *Peking*; which strengthens me in my opinion that the Chinese *li* has not changed since that time.

In note 15 I translated 中原 by "the origin of the middle." "The middle plain" would be a more correct translation.

Note 22, line 5 from bottom, for—*To-sie* khan, read—*Te-sie-ch' an*.

Page 22. The 黃花 *huang hua* (yellow flowers) are mentioned in the *Si yü ki*, near the *Kerulun* river in Mongolia. I thought at first, that the author spoke of yellow flowers in a general sense; but subsequently I learned that the name of *huang hua* is applied in China even now to a favorite vegetable, yielded by a liliaceous plant, which has been collected by Russian botanists near the same place where our mediæval travellers mention their yellow flowers. I find in Loureiro's *Flora Cochinchinensis*, the following statement about *Hemerocallis fulva*, of which he spells the Chinese name *kin chám lóa* (i. e. 金黃花 *kin huang hua*, "golden yellow flower"):—"Floribus istis tum recentibus, tum exsiccatione conservatis, & cum carnibus elixatis vescuntur libenter indigenæ." The dried flowers I purchased in *Peking*, under

\* The *Lu-kou* stone bridge, which Marco Polo saw, did not exist in the 12th century. The envoy mentions, that he crossed the *Lu-kou* river (*Hun-ho*) by a floating bridge, and it seems hence to the north than the present *Lu-kou* bridge.

† *Yen-shan fu*, the ancient name of *Peking*. But *Yen-shan fu* was situated a little to the south-west of the present *Peking*.



the name of *huang-hua ts'ai* (yellow-flower vegetable), were of quite agreeable sweetish taste, and belong without doubt to a yellow *Hemerocallis*. Two kinds of this genus are found in the neighborhood of Peking, *H. graminea*, Andr. and *H. fulva*, L. The first is found also in Siberia and *Mongolia*. See the *Record of the botanical garden in St. Petersburg*, 1872, pt. i, p. 192 (in Russian). A. Palladius saw plenty of the same plant in Manchuria. The Chinese book name for this plant is 萱草 *Suan-ts'ao*. Under this name *Tatarinov* in his *Catal. med. sin.* notices *H. graminea*; and under the same it occurs in Chinese books of very early date. The plant is described in the *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, book xvi, fol. 19; where it is stated also, that the flowers of it are known by the name of *huang-hua ts'ai*. A good Chinese drawing of the plant is found in the *Chi uen ming shi t'u k'ao*, book xiv, fol. 42.

Note 36. For—*hui* tree, read—*kui* tree. The tree 栝 *kuai*, called also 檜 *kui*, mentioned twice (pp. 23 & 25) together with the pine tree, as a high tree on the mountains of western Mongolia, and also noticed (as *kui*) by Ch'u-ts'ai, is according to Dr. Williams' dictionary the *larch* tree. But a description of the *kui* tree I find in the 正字通 *Chung tze t'ung*, a Chinese dictionary, points to another tree. It is there stated: "The 栝 *kui* is a tree of the north. The *Rh ya* as well as the *Shuo wen* (the most ancient dictionaries) agree in stating, that it has the leaves of the 栢 *po* (cypress), and the trunk of the pine. Now we call *kui* a tree, the leaves of which thrive the whole year (i. e. they are evergreen). One half of them consist of prickles, the other half resemble the leaves of the *po*. The fruit is white outside, the kernels inside reddish. The wood is very strong." This description agrees very well with *juniperus chinensis*, L. Endlicher (Synopsis Conifer. p. 20) describes it with the following characters: *Fruticosa, foliis oppositis, albis, acicularibus subulatis erecto-potentibus, alis squamis formibus rhombicis erecto-adpressis, etc.* Endlicher is only mistaken in stating that *j. chinensis* is a shrub; for it is a straight tree as large as *pinus sinensis*, very common in the neighborhood of Peking. It is here the favorite tree for bordering cemeteries, as in western Asia and Europe the cypress. The wood is used for coffins. The two kinds of leaves on the same tree give it a very striking appearance. The ancient descriptions of the imperial gardens in Peking and its neighborhood mention pine trees there, and *kui* trees; and indeed I have seen beautiful specimens of pines and of *juniperus chinensis* in the Wan-shou shan gardens, in Hsiang shan, and in the gardens near the temple of Confucius. Wu-ku-sun mentions groves of *kui* trees in Persia, but he saw probably cypresses. I am not aware whether *cupressus sempervirens* exists in China, as *Loureiro* asserts (*Flora Cochinchinensis*). It is probably on *Loureiro's* authority that our Chinese dictionaries generally render the character 栢 *po* by cypress (I have also translated it by cypress). But in the north of China, *po* is always applied to *thuja orientalis*, also a cupressinous tree. A very good drawing of it is found in the Chinese botany *Chi uen ming shi t'u k'ao*, book xxxiii, fol. 1. The drawing of the *kui* tree in the same work, book xxxiii, fol. 2, is not well executed, and admits of no identification. As to the *larch* tree, it is also well known to the Chinese. Last summer I detected *larix dahurica* on the mountains west of Peking, and was told that plenty of these trees grow on the mountains of Shansi. The Chinese name of it is 落葉松 *lo ye sung* (pine which drops the leaves).

Page 25, lines 7 and 18, for—south-eastern and south-east, read—south-western and south-west.

Page 26, line 9, for—*Ba-la-ho-sun* means "city" in Chinese, read—"Ba-la-ho-sun is the same as 城 *ch'eng* (city) in Chinese."

Line 10, for—head of magazines, read—magazine.

Note 53. I explained the Chinese name for the sandy desert 沙陀 *sha-t'o*, by *sha*="sand," and *t'o*="dangerous." But *t'o* means also "uneven," and this etymology of the word *sha-t'o*, "sandy downs," would answer better the nature of that desert spoken of, and the "sand-hills thrown up by the wind," in which terms the mediaeval traveller *Marignolli* describes the desert. See note 55.

Note 74. For—fruit, read—apple.

Page 34, lines 3 and 4, for—"Tao-hua-shi" and "Ton-hua-shi," read—"Tao-hua-shi."

End of the note 83, for—"twenty days from Sairam to the river Ch'ui, and twelve days between the Ch'ui and Alimali;" read—"about nine days from Sairam to the Ch'ui, and eleven between the Ch'ui and Alimali."

Page 39, line 22, for—"between 7 and 8," read—"between 7 and 9."

Note 101. Add "Ta-sue shan" means "the great snowy mountains."

Page 41, for 播只礮 read 播礮只.

Page 46, line 4 from bottom, for—"Here we met," read—"On our road we met." (The Chinese text does not say that Ch'ang-ch'un was at T'uau-ba-la).

Page 48, line 11 from bottom, for—"note 37" read—"note 87."

Page 50. With reference to the two-headed snakes mentioned in the *Si yü hi*, near Sairam, I would notice the curious fact that this story is reported up to this time in those countries. *Leeschin* in his work on the Kirghiz Kaisaks (in Russian), enumerating (vol. i, p. 143) the snakes there, concludes with the statement, that the superstitious fancy of the people adds to this list certain *two-headed snakes*.

In note 176, I stated, that the monastery of *Po-yün kuan* was at first inside the wall of ancient Peking, but that it remained outside, when under the Ming dynasty the capital was made smaller. I must correct this statement, for I find in the above-mentioned archaeological description of Peking (chap. xciv, fol. 1) a statement of a writer of the Mongol dynasty, that even in the Mongol time, *Po-yün kuan* was outside the wall, but that it was built inside the old city (of the Kin).

#### NOTES TO THE SI-SHI-KI.

On page 69, line 3 from top, I translated the phrase 山石皆有松文 by "the rocky mountains were covered all over with fine pine trees." This passage is somewhat obscure, and may also be understood, "the stones (rocks) of the mountains all bear figures of pine trees." Perhaps this latter version is to be preferred.

Note 37. Capt. Matusowsky informed me, that the name of the lake *Kizilbash* (called also *Uluynur* by the natives from the river which discharges into the lake) derives its origin from an excellent fish of this name found in the lake. This fish, as we have seen, is also alluded to in the *Si shi ki*. It is a fish two feet long, with a red head; hence the name. *Kizil-bash* in all the Turk languages means "red head." (Compare Klaproth's *Asia Polyglotta*). The lake has been known since the time of the empress Catherine, to the Siberian peasants, living on the lower Irtysh; for they used to go every year to the deserts of western Mongolia to collect salt. They call the fish *taimen* or *taluen*. The same is found also in the Irtysh and in the Zaisan lake. The *Kizilbash* lake is only  $1\frac{1}{2}$  werst (1 English mile) distant from the Black Irtysh, and the people assert, that there is a subterranean communication between them. The *taluen* of the Siberian people is a salmon, *salmo fuscicatus*. (Compare Ritter's *Asien*, vol. ii, p. 640.)

Note 117. The traveller speaks of a breed of horses in Bagdad, called *t'o-bi-ch'a*. This statement is corroborated in the Mongol text of the *Yüan ch'ao mi shi*, in which it is recorded that under the reign of Ogotai khan, the general *Tchormogoun*, (see *Si-shi-ki*, note 2) sent, together with other products from western Asia, a number of *t'o-bi-ch'au* to the Mongol court. This term is explained there by "horses from *Bageda* with long necks and long legs," which description would suit the breed of the so-called Turcoman horses, highly prized even at the present day in Persia. *Tobichau* is the Mongol plural form of *tobicha*. I cannot decide to what language the word belongs. It is not modern Mongol.

### TRACES OF CHRISTIANITY IN MONGOLIA AND CHINA IN THE XIIIth CENTURY.

*Drawn from Chinese sources.*

By ARCHIMANDRITE PALLADIUS.

FROM the beginning of the Mongol period in the history of eastern Asia, we find Christians frequently mentioned in contemporary Chinese literary monuments; proving the existence of such, both in Mongolia and China.

Whether Christianity existed in Mongolia before the reign of Chingiz khan we can only venture to guess; there is a strong probability of its having gained a footing in the family of the Kerait khan Tooril (Wang khan). His niece, named *Sorhahtani*,\* who, after the conquest of the Kerait tribe by Chingiz khan, was married to his son Tolui, and was Khubilai's mother, was certainly a Christian; for after her death, her image was preserved in the "Monastery of (the faith of) the Cross" 十字寺, in the present province of Kan-su. It was at a later

\* Such is the real name of the Kerait princess, according to the ancient biography of Chingiz khan, translated from the Mongol into Chinese, in the beginning of the Ming dynasty, under the name of *Yüan ch'ao pi shi* 元朝秘史.

period transported to Peking, and placed in a hall consecrated to the spirits of the defunct princesses.\*

A positive mention of the existence of Christianity in Mongolia I found in a Buddhist polemical work of the year 1291,† directed against the Tao-sze. The success of the last-mentioned, after Chingiz khan had shown special marks of his favour to the renowned Ch'ang-ch'un of that sect, whom he had invited to a meeting, excited the envy and hatred of the Chinese Buddhists towards their rivals. After Chingiz khan's death, they began a violent controversy against the Tao-sze,—their teaching, their books and their doings. The Tao-sze, on their part, did not remain silent; the dispute lasted till the reign of Mangu khan. The Buddhists brought him complaints against the Tao-sze; and Mangu khan, at last, ordered deputies from both parties to come to Karakorum, to debate and settle the dispute in his presence. The deputies arrived at the khan's *ordo* in autumn, 1256. The first contest in the presence of the khan was, according to the author's statement, quite in favour of the Buddhists; so much so, that the Tao-sze did not dare to appear a second time. Then Mangu khan settled the question with the following words. "The *Sien-shing* 先生 say that the Taoist teaching is the highest; the *Sew-ts'ai* 秀才, that Confucianism is the first; the *Tie-sie* 迭屑, honoring *Mi-shi-ho* 彌失訶, trust to celestial abodes (天生); and the *Ta-shi-man* 達失蠻, praying to heaven, thank it for its gracious deeds.‡ If all these religions are thoroughly studied, not one can be compared to Buddhism." With these words, the khan raised his hand for a comparison, and said: "As the fingers with regard to the palm, from which they grow, so are all the other religions with regard to Buddhism."§

It is evident that by the name of *Tie-sie* is understood Christians; *Mi-shi-ho*, "Messiah," is mentioned on a Christian monument of the T'ang dynasty (tablet of Si-an fu); the expression *shing-t'ien* undoubtedly means "access to the kingdom of Heaven." It is also clear that *Tie-sie* is a transcription of the word *Tersa*, by which name the Christians were called by the Mohammedans. There is no other deno-

\* *Yuan shi*, 元史 chap. xxxviii, fol. 13.

† *Pien wei lu* 辯僞錄.

‡ The name of *Sew-ts'ai* was applied by the Mongols to all Chinese literati, without distinction of degree. *Sien-shing* was a title given by the same to the Tao-sze, as the masters of alchemical and biological secrets. *Ta-shi-man* is *danishmend* (in Persian "a learned man") and corresponds to the title of *Mulla* (in Chinese *Man-la* 滿刺:—see the *Pe lu y yen* 北虜譯言).

§ Cf. *Relation de Rubruquis*. Rubruquis was in Karakorum two or three years before the circumstances described above. According to his relation, Mangu khan called a contest in his presence, of representatives of different religions. He also mentions that the khan used to compare the religions with the fingers of the hand, but in the sense that they were all equally good.

mination for Christians in the Mohammedan works in the Chinese language than T'e-r-sa 特爾撒; it is especially often repeated in the biography of Mohamed 至聖實錄, where it is generally placed together with Jew (Chu-hu). Jesus being called *Isa* by the Mohammedans, and 爾撒 *Rh-sa* by the Chinese Mohammedans, I think that this denomination enters into the composition of the term *Tersa*; and that the last means, "followers of Jesus." It is also probable that this term has a Persian origin\* (the Arabs call the Christians *Nassara*). I believe that the erroneous meaning of idolater, which was attached to the word *Tersa*, originates from the reason that it is equivalent to the word *giaur*, by which Christians as well as idolaters are known to the Mohammedans.† The name *T'ie-sie* is also mentioned in Ch'ang-ch'un's diary of travels; in 1221, when Ch'ang-ch'un was approaching near the town of Dzanbalek (to the west of the present Urumtsi), the chief of the *Tie-sie* came out of the city to meet him.

Thus, the Mongols originally borrowed the name they give to Christians from the Mohammedans; but it is strange that when Khubilai first moved the residence of the khans to China, whither he was followed also by the religious communities, the name of *Tie-sie* disappeared; I have only met with it once in the *Yuen ch'ao tien chang*‡ or "Statutes of the Mongol dynasty in China." In all other official acts, grants and documents, we find another, and less comprehensible, name applied to Christians.

The first important document regarding Christians we find after the conquest of China by the Mongols, and the removal of the residence of the khans to Peking, is in the *Yuen shi*,§ when Khubilai founded in Peking, the Chief Christian consistory under the name of *Ch'ung-fu-sze* in 1289. The meaning and aim is thus expressed in Chinese 崇福司掌領馬兒哈昔列班也里可溫十字寺祭享等事; i. e. "The *Ch'ung-fu-sze* has the management of the sacrifices and offerings in the convents (or temples) of the Cross, (belonging to) *Ma-r Ha-si Lie-pan Ye-li-ko-wen*." The denominations occurring in this phrase seem to belong

\* Cf. *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas*. 1615, pp. 123, 124. "Saraceni crucis adoratores preter vulgare gentis vocabulum, quo Christianos omnes *Isaī*, i. e. Jesuinos vocant, etiam in hoc regno (Sinarum) antiquos illos crucis professores *Terzai* appellant, cuius appellationis causam nescio (dicit P. Ricci), nisi quod ex Armenio quodam audivi, Armenios Christianos in Perside eodem nomine nuncupari." Haiton calls the Uigurs—*Tarsa*. Johan de Monte Corvino calls the Uigur characters *litterae tarsicae*. This is one of the strange and curious facts, which are frequently to be met in the relations of these times. According to Plano Carpini's account, the Uigurs were Christians.

† Cf. Andree Mulleri *Opuscula nonnulla Orientalia*, 1665, in fine, where there is a translation from the Turkish of a short piece by Haziz. Jew and Tarsa are mentioned there together. Muller translates, "*Judei et Pagani*," remarking that under the last denomination Christians are to be understood.

‡ 元朝典章

§ *Yuen shi*, chap. lxxxix, fol. 32. 百官

to different languages. *Ma-r Ha-si* is doubtless *Ma-li Ha-si-ya* on the monument at Chin-kiang fu, of which I shall speak further on; it reminds us so much of the Syrian *Mar Iesua*, "Dominus Jesus," that we must adopt this explanation. *Lie-pan* is probably *Rabban*, as the Christian monks were called in the east.\* *Ye-li-ko-wen* is *Erkeun* in the Mongol texts, *Arkhaiun* and *Arkhaun* in the Syrian, Persian and Armenian chronicles. In contemporary documents this was the most usual denomination for the clerical persons of the Nestorian sect, but later it was applied to Christians in general. All researches as to the etymology of this word have been, till now, fruitless. We must seek it in the transcribed word *Christus*, as we may guess by the Chin-kiang fu monument, or by certain archaisms in the Mongol language.†

Under sacrifices and offerings (*sacrificia et oblationes*), words taken from the sacrificial phraseology of the Chinese, we must understand the offering up of prayers and the performance of the Holy mysteries in the Christian temples. Thus the Ch'ung-fu-sze had to observe that the priests (Nestorian) did exactly perform their duties with regard to the religious service and the Holy mysteries in the temples. The Mongol khans gave their protection to all clerical communities without regard to religion, sect or creed,—granted them *djarleks* or "letters of exemption," and freed them from all taxes and duties, on condition that they should pray specially "for the health and welfare of the khan." Thus the Ch'ung-fu-sze was founded officially, to control the execution of the khan's orders in all Christian temples. Its power, according to the following text, went only as far as the religious communities which existed in the khan's immediate possessions, i. e. in China proper and Mongolia. In 1315 it was raised from *sze* 司 to *Yuen* 院, and received jurisdiction over all *Chang-kiao-sze* existing in the Mongol empire 省併天下也里可溫掌教司七十二所, i. e. including the other countries, as Turkestan, Persia, etc. The term *Chang-kiao-sze* I consider to mean the sees of the Nestorian bishops and chorepiscops

\* The Arab *rahban*, plural of *rahb*. D'Hierbel. *Bibl. Orient.* The Syro-Chaldeans must have had a similar denomination, as we see in the name of the Nestorian *rabbanta* (Assemani); cf. *Viaggio del beato, Odorico*, etc. The last mentioned relates, that in China he was called *rahb* *Frauchi* (cf. Col. Yule's *Cathay*, etc., Appendix I, 33); id est "monk of the Franks," and according to Odoric's own explanation, — *nono religioso*. With regard to the Nestorians, I am of opinion that *rahban* must be taken to mean the clergy in general, as they had two kinds of clergy, married and unmarried.

† In a manuscript Mongol-Chinese dictionary I found the word *Erkeun* with the following explanation: "Hæretici similar to the ancient *Yang* 楊 and *Mo* 墨." If one is to seek a parallel between the Christian teaching and the doctrines of the Chinese schools, then one would certainly prefer that of *Mo*, where there are less narrow ideas. A committee of the time of Kien-lung, who were commissioned to reform the spelling of proper names, for instance in the *Yuen shi*, did not fail to distort the above-mentioned text in this most arbitrary way: *Morghen sirben iralkun*. The committee did not even know of the existence of Mongolian monuments where the *Erkeun* are mentioned. Cf. also the explanation of the above-mentioned term *Chung-fu-sze*, &c. by C. Visdelou, in the Supplement to the *Bibliot. Orient.* of D'Hierbelot.

in Asia.\* Jurisdiction over such distant countries was, of course, very difficult; therefore, in 1320, the Ch'ung-fu-yuen was again degraded to a *sze*, i. e. with power only within the proper possessions of the khan.

Thus have I understood the text of the *Yuen shi*, and present it now to the judgment of men more learned than I am.

Another no less important document, proving the existence of Christianity in China in the Mongol times, is found in the 至順鎮江志 *Chi shun chin kiang chi*, a description of Chin-kiang fu, compiled during the reign *Chi-shun*, 1330-1332. A manuscript copy of this work had been preserved in the private library of the late minister *Iuan Yüen*, and was published in 1844. In the section on temples and monasteries existing at that time within the precincts of Chin-kiang fu, amongst others a *Christian monastery* (or rather temple as appears from the subsequent statements) is mentioned.† The Chinese text reads in the translation:—

“The temple 大興國寺 *Ta-hing-kuo-sze* stands in Chin-kiang fu, in the quarter called 夾道巷 *Kia-tao h'eang*. It was built in the 18th year of *Chi-yuen* (A. D. 1281) by the *Sub-darugachi* (副達魯花赤), 薛里吉思 *Sie-li-ki-sze* (Sergius). 梁相 *Liang Siang*, the teacher in the Confucian school wrote a commemorative inscription for him.”

After this follows the abridged text of the monument. The author of the description of Chin-kiang fu states that he gives only the chief points of the inscription. Perhaps *Liang Siang* did not well understand the venerable *Sergius*, or the extract renders inexactly the sense; but the fact is, that some strange statements and errors are found in the inscription. I venture the following translation of this curious document.

“薛迷思賢 *Sie-mi-sze-hien* (Samarcand) is distant from China 100,000 *li* (probably a mistake for 10,000,) to the north-west. It is a country where the religion of the 也里可溫 *Ye-li-k'o-wen* dominates. When I asked about this religion, I was told that in the whole world twelve *monasteries of the Cross* exist. There is a temple (in Samarcand) supported by four enormous wooden pillars, each of them forty feet high. One of these pillars is in a hanging position, and stands off from the floor more than a foot.‡ The founder of the religion was called 麻兒也里牙 *Ma-rh Ye-li-ya*§ He lived and worked miracles a thousand five hundred years ago|| 麻薛里吉思 *Ma Sie-li-ki-sze* (Mar *Sergius*)¶ is a follower of him. The principal thing (sic!) in this religion is the

\* *Chang-king* in the Chinese Mohammedan terminology means *Imam*.

† Chap. ix, fol. 8, 9.

‡ A more detailed account of this miracle is given by *M. Polo*. See the chapter on Samarcand.

§ Although this name does not sound like Jesus Christ, we must, however, identify it, as such.

|| Here evidently the year is reckoned according to the era of the Seleucides, as is done also in the Syrian text of the Nestorian tablet of Si-an fu. See *Mr. Wylie's* researches regarding this tablet.

¶ This is without doubt the Baron *Mar Sarghis* mentioned by *M. Polo*. See the chapter on Chin-kiang fu.



worship of the east. It has no resemblance to the Indian religion of annihilation (*nirvana*). The fact is, that the great light emanates from the east. The seasons of the year begin (in spring) with the east. East belongs to the element of wood and has influence over productiveness. Therefore it must be assumed, that, as, after the reduction of chaos, the universe has not ceased to move, the sun and the moon have not been stopped, and the human race continues to propagate,—all these motions are performed according to the law of constant generation (i. e. depending upon the east). Therefore the east is called the ever-distributing heaven.\* The cross (十字 *shi tze*) is an image of the human body.† They use it to hang up in the houses, paint it in the temples, and bear it on their heads, and on the breast. They consider it an indicator of the six cardinal points of the world.‡ *Sie-mi-sze-hien* (Samarcand) is the name of a country, *Ye-li-k'o-wen* the name of a religion. The grandfather of *Ma Sie-li-ki-sze*, by name 可里吉思 *K'o-li-ki-sze* (Georgius?),—his father 滅里 *Mie-li*, and his maternal grandfather by name 撤必 *Che-pi*,—were all physicians at the court. At the time *Tai-tsu* (Chinghizkhan) conquered that country (Samarcand), the prince *Ye-k'o no-yen*§ fell ill, and the grandfather of *Ma Sie-li-ki-sze* (*Che-pi*)||.....舍里八 *she-li-pa* and the congregation 馬里哈昔牙徒衆 *Ma-li Ha-si-ya*¶ said prayers, when the prince recovered. The emperor appointed *Che-pi* his 舍里八赤 *she-li-pa-ch'i*, and granted to him the title of *t'a-rh-han* (senior, chief) of the *Ye-li-k'o-wen*. In the 5th year of *Chi-yuen* (A.D. 1268) the emper or *Shi-tsu* (Khubilai) ordered *Ma Sie-li-ki-sze* to come (to Khanbaligh) post-haste, in order to present *she-li-pa*. *Ma Sie-li-ki-sze* was then amply rewarded. *She-li-pa*\*\* is a beverage made of fragrant fruits boiled in water. *She-li-pa-ch'i* is the name of an

\* The author of the inscription on the tablet, in explaining the custom of the eastern Christian church, to consider the east the first and most sacred of the cardinal points, evidently mixed up some Chinese ideas. *Translator's note.*

It is not improbable that the worship of the east had become a salient point in the Nestorian creed, as we find the practice noticed on the Se-gan inscription, five centuries earlier than the document in question. On the above-named inscription, explaining the rites of the Nestorian church, it is said:—"Worshipping towards the east, they hasten on the way to life and glory." See *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. v, p. 281.—*Editor's note.*

† I. e. the body with the arms stretched out. *Translator's note.*

The prominent place held by the cross in the Nestorian rites, is also alluded to in the Se-gan inscription, thus:—"As a seal, they hold the cross, whose influence is reflected in every direction, uniting all without distinction." See *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. v, p. 281.—*Editor's note.*

‡ The Chinese consider zenith and nadir also cardinal points of the world. *Translator's note.* The Se-gan inscription says,—“He appointed the cross as a means for determining the four cardinal points.” See *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. v, p. 280.—*Editor's note.*

§ According to the *Yüen shi lui pien*, the son of Chinghiz khan had this title.

|| It seems to me, that here is a break, and that the words “gave him” are omitted.

¶ I think *Ma-li Ha-si-ya* is the same as *Marh Ha-sze* of the *Yüen shi*. See above.

\*\* Evidently the persian “sherbet.”

office. Ma Sie-li-ki-sze distinguished himself, as did also his ancestors, by their ability in preparing she-li-pa, which has sanative power.\* The emperor had bestowed upon him a golden tablet, granting to him the privilege of specially applying himself to that occupation.† In the 9th year (1272) M. S. went, together with the minister *Sai-tien-chi* to *Yün-nan*; in the 12th year (1275) to *Fu-kien* and *Che-kiang*, always with the purpose of preparing she-li-pa. In the 14th (1277), the emperor gave him a tiger tablet of authority,‡ with the title of 懷遠大將軍 *huai-yuen ta kiang-kün*,§ and of chief intendant (總管府) of the department (路) of Chin-kiang fu, and also the title of Sub-darugachi.¶ Notwithstanding the high dignities to which M. S. was raised, he did not cease to be a faithful adherent to his religion, and always endeavored to propagate it. It happened once, that in the night time he dreamed, that the *seven heavens*|| had opened, and two saints (神人)¶ said to him: 'You must build *seven temples*;' and they gave him in remembrance of the fact something of a white colour. After awaking he felt touched, and subsequently left the service, and devoted himself to the building of temples. Next he gave up his house near the gate 鐵甕門 *T'ie-wen men* and built there the temple *Pa-shi hu-mu-la*,\*\* 大興國寺 *Ta-hing-kwo-sze*. After this

\* Chap. vi, fol. 21, the *Chin-kiang chi* states that M. S. was obliged to send to the court from Chin-kiang every year, forty jars of sherbet. He prepared this beverage from the juice of grapes, quinces and oranges.

† A golden tablet as a diploma of public office. *Translation's note*.

A fac-simile of one of the tablets, such as the Mongol khans were accustomed to confer on their protégés is given in Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i, p. 316.—*Editor's note*.

‡ 宣命虎符 which was given to military men.

§ This is a title denoting only a degree, not an office.

¶ As the office of darugachi (governor) was of great importance, the Mongols seldom gave it to foreigners or Chinese. Therefore this position was bestowed upon M. S. only nominally. *Translator's note*.

We have not access to the recent edition of the Chin-keang topography, in which this interesting inscription is found; but in an edition of the same work published in the middle of last century, there is a list of the several 鎮江府路總管府達魯花赤 "chief intendant *da-ho-hwa-chi* or governors of the Chin-keang fu circuit;" in which it is noteworthy that this same Mar Sergius stands third on the list, as having held the post,—not of *sub*, but full—*darugachi* in 1278, the year succeeding that named on the tablet. The entry stands thus, 馬薛里吉思虎符懷遠大將軍至元十五年任 *Ma Sie-le-keih-sze hoo-foo huac-yuen ta-tseang-keun Chih-yuen shih-woo n'en jin*. It is probable however that his term of office was very short, as we find the next on the list 張炤 Chang Chao, a Chinese apparently, appointed to the office the same year. May we infer that the cause of his short rule is explained on the Chin-keang tablet, where we are told, that, in consequence of a dream, "he left the service and devoted himself to the building of temples?" Marco Polo, in his notice of Chin-kiang fu, says:—"There are in this city two churches of Nestorian Christians which were established in the year of our Lord 1278; and I will tell you how that happened. You see, in the year just named, the Great Khan sent a Baron of his whose name was *Mar Sarghis*, a Nestorian Christian, to be governor of this city for three years. And during the three years that he abode there he caused these two Christian churches to be built, and since then there they are. But before his time there was no church, neither were there any Christians." The coincidence of date &c. between Marco Polo and the Chin-keang tablet is striking. It will be observed Marco does not say that *Mar Sarghis* fulfilled his three years; and what he does say may be literally explained and accounted for.—*Editor's note*.

|| The same as *επτα ουρανот αψιδες* of the greek cosmography of the middle ages.

¶ Angels.

\*\* *Bashi humra*.—*bashi* in Persian="principal;" *humra* in Syro-Chaldaic="cathedral."

he acquired the hill 堅土山 *Shu-t'u shan*, near 西津 *Si-tsin*, and erected there two temples, viz. *T'a-shi\** *hu-mu-la*, 雲山寺 *Yün-shan-sze*, and *Tu-ta-u-rh†* *hu-mu-la*, 聚明山寺 *Ku-ming-shan-sze*. Beneath these two temples a free cemetery was laid out for Christians. Further, in the district of 丹徒縣 *Tan-t'u hien*, on a drift (開沙), he built the temple *Ta-hui hu-mu-la*, 四瀆安寺 *Sze-tou-an-sze*, outside the gate 登雲門 *Teng-yün men*; on the hill *Huang-shan*, the temple *Ti-len hai-ya hu-mu-la*, 高安寺 *Kao-an-sze*, was built. Near *Ta-hing-kuo-sze* (see above) the temple *Ma-li Kie-wa-li-ki-sze‡* *hu-mu-la*, 甘泉寺 *Kan-ts'üan-sze* was erected. In *Hang-chou*, near the gate 薦橋門 *Tsien-kiao men*, M. S. founded the temple *Yang-i||* *hu-mu-la*, 大普興寺 *Ta-p'u-hing-sze*.

"These seven temples had been erected in fact by the intention (zeal) of this man. His devotedness to the emperor and his attachment to the empire could find no other expression than in the foundation of temples.

"The minister *Wan-tse* made a report to the emperor, mentioning the foundation of seven temples as a laudable design. The emperor granted to M. S. letters of exemption from public burdens, with the imperial seal; and thirty 頃 *k'ing* of crown land was given in *Kiang-nan*, for the purpose of keeping the temples in repair. Besides this, thirty-four *k'ing* of land was bought for the temples from the peasants of 浙西 *Che-si*. M. S. governed in *Chin-kiang* for five years. In successively erecting these temple buildings, he never pressed the people. The people of his household, having taken a vow, belonged to the *Ye-li-k'o-wen*. He invited (迎禮) from the sacred lands *Mo-li Ha-si-ya Mark* 失理河 必思忽入 *shi-li ho-pi-sze-lu-pa,¶* to glorify the excellent doctrine and the tranquil veneration of the Holy Scripture; and then the divine service 道場 in the seven temples was set in complete order.

"M. S. also commanded his descendants to preserve the hereditary profession of preparing the *she-li-pa*, and never to abandon it. The design of these precepts and commands was to preserve for ever this profession in his family. This fact proves still more his zeal. Therefore I have here brought together all that I had heard of him."

It was the fate of the temples founded by the zeal of M. S. as we shall see, not to have a long existence. Two of them, even in the time of the Mongols, were converted into heathen temples. The Buddhist priests had the priority, and great influence at the court of Peking. They prejudiced much the other religions. The two temples mentioned were situated on the border of the Yang-tze *kiang*, on the ground belonging in former times to the monastery, which stood, and stands

\* *Tash*—"stone."

|| *Ya-hia*, "John?"

¶ *Episcopos*, "bishop."

† *Dudaur*—"light?"

§ 佛國 *Fu kuo*.

‡ *Mar Georgius*?

even now, on the peninsula 金山 *Kin-shan* on the Yang-tze. Thus the Buddhists succeeded in appropriating the Christian churches. In A. D. 1303 they were taken from the Christians, and converted into Buddhist temples, and assigned to *Kin-shan* under the name of *Po-jo yuen*. A tablet commemorative of this fact was erected, and the inscription was made by the well-known scholar *Chao Meng-fu*. In it the event is reported in the following terms :—

“In the year of the accession of the emperor to the throne (A. D. 1308), in the 5th month, an order under the imperial seal was received, in which the judge *Po-lu* of the imperial department, and *Ta-shi Tien-mu-rh*, councillor in the department for the management of religious affairs, were ordered to repair, post-haste to the governor of Kiang-nan and Che-kiang, and to notify to him the following decree :—

“The *Ye-li-k'o-wen* have arbitrarily built temples on the ground belonging to *Kin-shan*. It is commanded to destroy the crosses (on the temples). The artist *Lew Kao*, the same who has painted the images and made the idols in *Pai-t'a-sze* (the temple of the white pagoda) in the capital, has been ordered to repair thither, and to execute in these temples and on the walls, images of *Buddha*, *P'u-sa*, and representations of spirits and dragons. The conservators of the temples are ordered to furnish to him all materials necessary for that purpose. The temples are to be assigned to *Kin-shan*.”

“In the same month, letters of exemption were granted to the temple of *Kin-shan*, to the effect, that the christians and their posterity should never attempt to contest the possession of this ground. Whoever should lay claim was to be severely punished.

“In the 11th month, *Hai-yin-tu*, the president of the department for the management of religious affairs, received a most high order of the following tenor :—

“‘The other believers (*Ye-li-k'o-wen*), relying upon their power, had built temples on the ground belonging to *Kin-shan*. Lately the (Christian) images therein have been destroyed, and they are now replaced by Buddhist idols. The walls of the temples have been adorned with (new) images. Let these temples be subject to *Kin-shan*. *Chao Meng-fu* has received order to set up an inscription, and to erect a perpetual tablet.’”

Hereupon *Chao Meng-fu* described the events above reported, concluding with some laudatory verses.

But it seems that one tablet was not sufficient for commemorating this event, for *P'an Yan-siao*, member of the *han-lin* academy, was ordered to indite another inscription.\* In this he first praises the

\* *Chin kiang chi*, chap. vi, fol. 25.

Buddhist religion, and after describing the picturesque position of Kin-shan on the great river, and speaking of the mountains opposite Kin-shan on the right bank of the Yangtze, he continues as follows :—

“In the 16th year of *Chi-yuen* (A. D. 1279), the Christian *Ma Sie-li-ki-sze* who governed the department of Chin-kiang, relying upon his power, had taken possession of the best place on the elevated shore of the river, and built a temple on the top, which was called 銀山寺 *Yin-shan-sze*; and on the adjacent uncultivated land, he had laid out a cemetery for his fellow-believers. In India (i. e. beyond China) there are ninety-six sects (as Buddhist books report). But there is only one true faith, the belief of our Buddha; and as it is the only true faith, how can another and a false faith be tolerated? The present emperor, at the time he came to the throne, ordered the former images of the temple to be taken down, and new images to be painted corresponding to those in the temples at the capital. The superior of the Kin-shan monastery was intrusted with the administration of this temple, which received the name 般若禪院 *Po-jo ch'an yuen*, in order that all songs of praise (of Buddha) may sound in the same language in the whole land. I was ordered to write this, etc.”

Thus the pious efforts of Mar Sergius were not crowned with perfect success, and his works were not destined to be of long duration. Nothing is known regarding the fate of the other temples.

Besides Mar Sergius there are some other Christians mentioned in the description of Chin-kiang fu. Some of them occupied high places in that region; others were only settled there. *An Chin-heng*, for instance, governed the department of Chin-kiang, A. D. 1283–1286,—*K'o-li-ki-sze* (Georgius?), 1308–1312,—*T'ai-ping*, 1312–1316. At the time the latter left this place, the officers and the people, in acknowledgment of his benevolent government, erected a monument in his honour, with a description of his merits. Other Christians mentioned in the same work are *Ma Ao-la-han*, *O-lo-sze*, *An-ma-li-hu-sze*, and his son *Ye-li-ya*; also *Lu-ho* the son of *K'o-li-ki-sze*.

That is all that I have been able to find, in the ancient description of Chin-kiang fu, regarding Christians. There is a great number of similar ancient descriptions of places in China existing; and there can be no doubt that they contain many interesting accounts of Christianity in China in ancient times. But it is to be regretted, that the greater part of them have not been published, but are kept in the imperial, or in private libraries.

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## THOUGHTS ON MEDICAL MISSIONS IN JAPAN.

BY JOHN C. BERRY, M. D., KOBE, A. B. C. F. M.'S MISSION

*Read before the Osaka and Kobe Missionary Association, October, 1874.*

THE true worth of the judicious use of the healing art, as an evangelizing agent, is now so generally recognized by all engaged in mission work, that it is unnecessary to adduce any arguments in its favor. Hence I pass at once to the subject of the paper which you have requested me to write.

"Do you think medical reports of sufficient use to warrant their publication?" was a question put to me a short time since, by a missionary gentleman who had lived long in China. If printed in a foreign language,—doubtful. If in the language of the people, and made a medium through which to instruct the native medical profession upon diseases common to their people, and of which they know but little;—to instruct the physicians, and through them the masses, in reference to the laws of hygiene and dietary, of which so lamentable an ignorance is witnessed on every hand, and among all classes;—then the importance of a yearly report, in carrying forward and widening the influence of the medical missionary, cannot be over-estimated.

*Essential to the continued success of the missionary physician in this country, where the native physicians are regarded with such respect by the masses, is the hearty coöperation of the native medical profession.* The work of the missionary physician here, as in most mission fields, is limited only by his strength. He can relieve a vast deal of suffering by direct personal effort; but the broad channel of usefulness afforded him by intelligent native assistants, should not be ignored. Through these he is able to relieve himself of much of the drudgery of medical work,—gain favorable access to many from whom he would otherwise be debarred,—secure professional attention for the poor at the various dispensary stations during his absence from them, and the observance of the,—to this people,—doubly important lesson implied by our Savior when saying, "The poor ye have always with you."

Important, however,—to the efficient coöperation of the native profession, and as creating and augmenting a thirst for a knowledge of medical science, to be satisfied in most cases at the centres of medical education, with which the country is now so fairly provided,—is it, that they be afforded, at least an elementary knowledge of that science. That this, however, should not be effected by the medical missionary, save as it may be favored by the clinical instruction which he affords when on dispensary tours, or at the central hospital, is quite certain. The services of a scholarly translator should be secured (whose salary,

however, should be met by native funds), who, under our general superintendence, should prepare daily a lesson sheet, sending it out among the student physicians at the dispensary stations. Full notes on medical lectures taken years ago, I have found of value for this purpose.

In this connection arises the question:—"Should we take into our 'studies' medical students, giving personal attention to their daily instruction in medicine?" It seems to me, most assuredly not, until they are members of our churches, and afford the clearest proof that in subsequent years, they will labor as co-workers for Christ, and not appropriate the advantages, realized from our instruction, to personal gain. Lest I be misunderstood, I hasten to express my opinion in favor of giving personal attention to selected medical students. Though I would not favor the establishing of a separate institution for their instruction, yet, believing that the future welfare of the church in Japan, together with its present speedy ingathering, depends upon a well-organized native agency, which shall represent all the departments of missionary effort, I would urge that those in the churches who may be looking forward to the study of medicine, be taken into our "studies" and receive our careful attention.

While the work of touring, among the out-stations and charity hospitals, or for the purpose of opening new stations, with the accompanying privileges for direct Bible teaching, must be regarded as constituting a very important feature of medical missionary work, the importance of a commodious and well-directed hospital at the central station should not be overlooked. It is here that the most difficult, and yet successful, medical work is accomplished;—work by which the respect of the community, and especially of the native medical profession, is secured; and by which, if proper tact is used, public attention is favorably directed to the leading work of the mission. It is here too,—with the privilege of laboring among the sick, who, with their friends, come from distant parts of the empire, and through whom we are able to effect favorable distribution of the Bible to all parts of the country,—that the medical missionary is able to accomplish his most successful work. Here a daily religious service should be conducted, which should receive as much of our personal attention as practicable. No man can talk so successfully to the sick as he under whose care they have been relieved from physical suffering; nor to the medical students and assistants, as he whose superiority they acknowledge, and whose skill they emulate.

The question of self-support in the various branches of missionary work, must be regarded as among the most important which we have to settle. In fact, it is scarcely second to any question, the consider-



tion of which has brought us together to-day. Upon it depends, to an important degree, the highest and continued success of our efforts. The paralyzing influence of the use of foreign money,—in the support of schools and their pupils,—in the generous gifts to those preparing for the ministry,—in the grants to churches,—and in the maintenance of medical work,—is painfully witnessed to-day in most of the older mission fields. That a reform in this direction is imperative, is felt by all whose eyes are open to the present condition of missionary work in all lands; and from the readiness with which men acknowledge the merits of medical work, and the willingness with which they afford substantial acknowledgment of their indebtedness to it, it affords the most promising medium with which to commence the effort. That it should not stop here however, is important.

So thoroughly am I convinced of the deadening influence exerted upon native effort by the free use of foreign funds, that I have not hesitated to refuse the offered gifts of foreign merchants in behalf of my dispensary work; and I have abundant reason to-day to be thankful that I have. Far better is it for the future prosperity of the work, to wait, before favouring any large expenditure of money, until the native interest prompts the contribution of at least a considerable portion of it, than to take it from the mite in our mission treasuries, or seek it at the hands of foreign merchants. It may be necessary for a time, until the confidence and friendship of the community in which dispensary work is conducted, be secured, to meet the expenditure from mission funds, but no further. Then continued effort in their behalf should be made contingent upon coöperative effort on their part in behalf of the work. If we would have the future growth of medico-missionary work, and with it the various institutions which engage missionary effort, protracted and sickly, we have only to rely, at their commencement, upon foreign funds for their support. If, however, we would see the influence of our work extend with a healthy and lasting influence, effecting social reform among, and receiving the hearty support of the people, let us from the first be careful to secure their intelligent coöperation. It requires but a thoughtful glance to see, that, as in Pharaoh's dream, the seven lean kine ate up the seven fat ones, so it will be in the future history of institutions connected with missionary effort in this country. Though the well-endowed (with foreign funds) hospital, or school, or church, or Bible student, may commence the race with a fat treasury, or well-imbursed pocket, the one which commences with its financial day of small things will, if receiving the intelligent support of native friends, soon overshadow and eclipse the other.

This plan, of course, does not seem wise to those who would, with

foreign funds, favor their opening efforts, by building churches, school-houses and hospitals; and in other ways exhibiting the power of the wealth of Christian nations. I question if the quiet, unostentatious manner in which Christ commenced the earthly task assigned Him would seem wise in their sight.

I have said *intelligent* support on the part of native friends. This implies the freest and fullest conference with them in reference to proposed efforts; and the result has been with me (pardon me for referring so frequently to personal experience), not only liberal financial support, but valuable suggestions as to the best manner in which to conduct the enterprise. We should not forget (and in most cases it requires but the laying aside of prejudice and egotism to enable us to remember), that we have not to depend, for the successful prosecution of our work, merely upon what we have brought with us; but that we are to acknowledge the presence of abundant *materiel* with which to work and which,—to secure great results,—we have only to direct.

AGAIN. *If we would make medical work successful as an evangelizing agent, our efforts should be regular and continued, and in connection with our clerical brethren.* Occasional extended tours for pioneer work should, no doubt, be undertaken. In fact, as a rule it probably will occur, that the efforts of the healer may well precede those of the preacher. But we should not forget that running over a country does not evangelize it; hence subsequent regular effort, in connection with native helpers and missionary brethren, should be kept up.

*It is necessary to the highest success of the missionary physician, that he regard himself as an auxiliary worker;—auxiliary to the higher work which he holds in common with his clerical brethren,—the salvation of men through Christ, the prosecution of which has brought him to the foreign mission field. Directly he allows the idea, at present so popular among many foreigners in the east,—that the work of the physician is of more importance than the work of the evangelist,—to influence him in his daily work, his efforts are a comparative failure. To heal men that we may the more effectually lead them to Christ, should be our aim.*

Just here allow me to call attention to an evil, which has in too many instances in the past, embarrassed the efforts and weakened the influence of medical missionaries. I refer to the too-prevalent custom of engaging in private practice among the foreign residents at the open ports, where there are established medical men. The practice is unjust to the physician, to the patients, to ourselves, and, in an inexpressible degree to the general interests of our work;—to the physician, in unfairly competing with him, and depriving him of much of his legitimate

income;—to the patients, who, in learning to look to us as their family physician, are obliged, during our absence on frequent tours, to receive the professional services of another, who knows nothing of the physical peculiarities of the family;—to ourselves, in burdening us with additional cares, and depriving us of that sense of deep satisfaction, which an extended and prosperous work on mission ground affords;—and to the general interests of the work, in that it takes from it very much valuable time, constantly introduces to our notice a work which tends to weaken our sympathy with missionary effort, and awakens in the minds, both of the resident foreigners and native people, a suspicion of our personal disinterestedness and entire devotion to the cause.

Do not infer that the practice of my professional brethren in Japan prompts me in saying this. Our field is but newly occupied, and thus far I am glad to be able to say, that none of its occupants have given attention to this work. Allow me to hope, brethren, that we shall continue in well-doing.

LASTLY. *A successful prosecution of the work of the missionary physician demands a familiarity with the various branches of his profession;—a familiarity which can only be attained by prolonged study; and such a regard for it as that it shall receive his best thought.* The advisability of the present popular idea of combining the attributes of the preacher and healer in one, *may* be apparent in some mission fields, but not in Japan. It is true, the evangelist and physician stand side by side as the instrumentalities, under God, by which the nations of the world are to be evangelized. But it is equally true that the work of either is so important, as to render it quite impossible for one man to do justice to both. In mission fields such as China, where conveniences for travel are, except in a few directions, at present so primitive, and mission stations so far separated from each other, it may be well, in fact is frequently of the utmost importance, that the clerical missionary should have an intelligent knowledge of the art of healing; but in Japan, where mission stations are, and promise to be, brought so near together, by the use of steam in travel, this reason does not hold good. Unless, then, the minister of the Gospel intends to allow the work of healing to receive his chief attention on mission ground (a course which I certainly should be sorry to witness), the three years spent in hurrying through a course of medical study would result in effecting a greater work for the Master, if spent on the mission field in the study of the language of the people among whom he expects to labor. It may be argued that the faulty education of our colleges, in reference to the laws of health, should be supplemented by a course of medical study, in order to enable the missionary to exert

an intelligent care over the health of his family, when separated as at times he must necessarily be, from medical and even friendly aid. There is much weighty reason in this ; but I question the value of much that he would learn, as favoring this important aim, from a course of study in which the chief effort of the instructors is to lay a foundation for a life study, rather than afford the popular instruction in reference to the laws of health and the use of simple remedies, which the missionary will find it well to have. It is better to learn this by a few month's study under the private instruction of a physician at home ; or give the necessary attention to it, in connection with the language during the first year in his mission field, and with the assistance of the physician on the ground.

Largely in the past, and to a considerable extent in the present, has the medical profession forgotten or ignored its high position, as defined in the original great command of Christ, and confined its offices to fields that would yield substantial remuneration ; and to-day, though we are permitted to witness a great advance by this profession, yet I am sure that the majority of its members will bear me witness in saying, that its present condition is far beneath the primal intention of Christ. But the high commission will not always remain unfulfilled. The time is coming when it will take its due position in Christian work, and stand foremost among the agencies which are to relieve from suffering and moral degradation, the millions in heathen lands.

Too sensibly are you impressed with its importance, to accuse me of magnifying mine office when I say,—the work of medical missions is a great one, and demands for its successful prosecution, the best men that the profession affords ; and, brethren, the call to these men should not be weakened, nor the efforts of the missionary embarrassed, by regarding the work as so insignificant, as that the missionary, though like Tallyrand's doctor he "may know a little of everything, even a little physic," can, in connection with his other important duties, be supposed to do it justice. By our justly implied helplessness, rather than by our unjustly professed efficiency, let us show to the medical profession in Europe and America, that a great work awaits them,—one for the prosecution of which our present force is inadequate ; and one, I joyfully add, in which philanthropy can find full scope and Christian love the fullest expression.

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**THE BLOOD OF THE MARTYRS IS THE SEED OF CHURCH.**  
 HOW FAR IS THIS SAYING TRUE ; AND SHOULD IT LEAD US IN ANY DEGREE  
 TO EXPECT, DESIRE, OR WELCOME, PERSECUTION  
 FOR THE NATIVE CHRISTIANS IN CHINA?

By Rev. A. E. MOULE.

*Read before the Ningpo Missionary Association.*

**P**ERSECUTION in general cannot be intended by the terms of the question, to occupy our attention to-night. It must be official persecution, and that on a large scale, which is more particularly contemplated ; and for this reason, that it will be mere waste of time, to ask whether we should *expect* persecution of other kinds, private, petty, or local attacks, since these are already upon us, and such have tried the church in China from its very foundation.

Now coming to the text, "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church." How far is this saying true?

This saying is not Scripture ; although it is often quoted as of almost equal authority ; much like the sayings, "In the midst of life we are in death ;" "We know not what a day may bring forth ;" which, however true, are apocryphal and are not of independent authority.

Now our text is patristic, and that of very high antiquity. It is met with in its simplest form in Tertullian's Apology addressed to the Roman magistrates in the year A. D. 198. He writes thus,—*Crudelitas vestra illecebra est magis sectæ. Plures efficimur, quoties metimur à vobis. Semen est sanguis Christianorum*,—"Your cruelty is rather an allurements to the sect. We are made the more numerous, the oftener we are mown down by you. The blood of the Christians is a seed." Another writer (St. Nilus, who was a disciple of Chrysostom and died A. D. 450) has these words, *Succidebantur ecclesie palmites ; et fidei fructus augescebat*, "The vine shoots of the church were being cut off ; and the fruit of the faith was increasing." Chrysostom also speaks thus at the close of the 4th century :—"The blood of martyrs waters the garden of the church and makes it fruitful." But confining our attention to the particular expression, "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church ;" a question arises, and one on the solution of which depends (if I mistake not) the decision of the proposition now before us. What is meant by the *seed of the church*? Does it mean that the blood of the martyrs belonging to a particular church, makes that church fruitful, and leads to a greater harvest of souls being gathered into that particular communion?—or does it mean that the seed of the gospel is, through martyrdom, or through general persecution, blown like thistle-down over hill and dale, away from the parent plants ;—the survivors from a blood-stained persecution, shaking the dust off their feet as

a witness against the persecutors,—fleeing to other provinces, or to other countries, and carrying with them, though weeping, precious seed to fall on more genial soil? If the first,—we may not only expect, but also welcome, and even *desire* persecution in China; for our churches are sadly barren, and a revival is deeply needed. If the second,—though we may *expect* persecution (for all Christians must “through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God”), yet we cannot but anticipate such with profound anxiety and alarm; for Chinese persecution *may* mean the taking away of the candlestick from China, and its transference to other lands. The church of Christ cannot be overthrown; but the church in China may be; the seed will spring up and bear a golden bounteous harvest elsewhere; but China may be turned into a waste howling wilderness.

Now I imagine that it will be a difficult task to decide from history, which of these views was intended by Tertullian; and which expresses most faithfully, the history of persecution throughout this Christian era. I can merely point out some instances in which, as it seems to me, now the one view, now the other, has prevailed; and briefly state on which side the preponderance of evidence appears to lie.

It will be well to keep before our minds the explanation of the origin and meaning of persecution which was given by Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and other early Christian teachers. They traced it ultimately to Satan and the demons; but ascribed to it at the same time an ethical character as,—(1) a punishment for past sins,—(2) a school of Christian virtue, or,—(3) a means of awakening faith. Now if it be Satanic in its origin, and *overruled* merely as a punishment for sin (a view which is, I fancy, very frequently overlooked), then surely persecution is a visitation to be dreaded, and deprecated by all true friends of missions. But if it be a hardy training-school for Christian warriors, and a means in God's hand for purging His church, that it may bring forth more fruit, then it may be welcomed and desired; so that the first of these three explanations of persecution may be attached to the second view under consideration,—the second and third to the first.

Before proceeding to a brief examination of the evidence afforded by Church history on this subject, I venture to point out analogies from nature which may well illustrate either side of the question. And first, as to local benefit from local persecution. The wheat harvest in England gathered in during the present autumn, though up to the average, was supposed to have been in imminent danger during the unusually late and severe frosts of May. It was found, however, that these frosts, so blighting and destructive in appearance, had in fact

proved highly beneficial, both in extirpating insects, and especially in checking the too luxuriant growth caused by the mild weather of early spring.

And then as to the way in which persecution in one place spreads the Gospel seed to another. "It is remarkable," says Dr. Child, in his exposition of the *Benedicite*, "what pains nature takes to distribute the seed. The chief sower is the wind, which blows the seed about till a suitable spot has been found. The seed of the rose of Jericho does not ripen, until the season is so far advanced, that every drop of water has been sucked out of the soil. It would answer no good purpose were the seed allowed to fall upon such arid ground. The plant, however, is rescued from its dilemma by a curious device of nature. Under the influence of the scorching sun, the branches dry up and become rolled into an irregular elastic ball. By and bye the wind of the desert, as it sweeps along the dusty plain, catches the plant, and tears it up by the root (an act of violent and bitter persecution); the ball rolls easily over the surface, and is driven to and fro until it sticks fast in some little oasis or spot of moisture. During this rough journey, the seed-vessels hold their precious contents firmly and safely; but no sooner do they perceive the signal of moisture than they open freely; and the seed falling on good ground, springs up rapidly.

"What wonderful efforts are sometimes made to stock new land with plants. Whence come the cocoa-nut groves which flourish on the Coral islands of the Pacific? Who shall clothe the barren reef of limestone rock with its small patches of chalky mud and sand formed by the action of rain and waves on its surface? The cocoa is usually the first plant to appear. How does it come there? The nut is too large to be carried by birds; and ships avoid the dangerous reef. A stray nut that grew in far distant groves, after being the sport of storms and currents has hit the new spot in the lone ocean. Cast ashore by the surf, it has become fixed in one of the muddy clefts where it finds nourishment enough for its growth."

And once again,—the wind is more often a winnower than a sower. The chaff is blown away as shovelfuls of grain are tossed against the breeze; and the wheat falls on the threshing-floor unhurt and undiminished. The persecutions near Foochow in 1871, and at Chi-mi during the present year, have been described to me by missionaries who witnessed their progress and effects, as *winnowing* processes.

Church history deals largely in this subject of persecution. To glance back for one moment only at the ancient Jewish church, we have in her history a remarkable anticipation of this saying of Tertullian's. "The more they afflicted them," we read in Exodus of Israel



in Egypt, "the more they multiplied and grew." Our Lord Himself from the manger to the cross was persecuted; but, "He shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days, . . . He shall see of the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied." Our Lord also foretold the persecutions of His body, the church. "Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and *persecute* you, . . . for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you." "If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you." Those who leave all for Christ's sake and the gospel's, shall receive an hundredfold now in this time *with persecutions*. "In the world ye shall have tribulation." "We must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God," said St. Paul to the disciples at Lystra, shortly after he had been stoned there in person; and at the close of his life he says to Timothy, "Yea, and all that will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution." And as to the way in which persecution is to be endured, the great apostle says again, "I *take pleasure* . . . in persecutions for . . . Christ's sake." Shall *persecution* separate me from the love of Christ? Now how far were these prophecies fulfilled; how far was this Pauline experience the experience of the church of Christ?

Notice the almost continuous stream of persecution which strove to stem the incoming tide of Christianity. First of all the apostles are *threatened* (Acts iv), and the result was, that in answer to their prayer of undaunted faith, "the place was shaken" by Divine power. Then they were *beaten* (Acts v), and the effect was that they rejoiced to suffer shame for Christ's name. Then came the *death* of Stephen (Acts vii), and the result though probably not beneficial to the church at Jerusalem, was the wide and ever wider sowing of the seed, by those who were scattered abroad through the persecution that arose about Stephen. Then the great persecutor Saul is changed by the flash of glory from the Saviour's face into Paul; and Satan, in fury at the loss of his champion, persecutes the persecutor; but Saul undaunted, *increases the more in strength*. James next falls by the sword of Herod; and Peter escapes by a miracle. Herod dies miserably, and the persecution results in the *growth* and *multiplication* of the word of God (Acts xii). Then we meet with a literal fulfillment of our Lord's own direction, "When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another." In Antioch, in Pisidia, in Iconium, in Lystra, in Derbe, in Thessalonica, in Berea, persecution follows hard on the sowing of the seed; but the seed takes root, and the sower goes rejoicing on his stormy way. "Fear not, Paul;" is the midnight cheer spoken to the apostle by the Lord, who visited his faithful servant in prison,—fear not, "for as thou hast testified of me at Jerusalem, so must thou bear witness also at Rome." And thus the word of the Lord had free course; now

impelled by the apostle's fervent zeal,—now by the Holy Spirit's immediate direction,—now driven by the blasts of persecution; still the work went onward; the church grew, and prevailed against the power of hell.

I must very briefly summarize the after history of the church. Mosheim classes all persecutions under the head of "*Calamitous events of the church.*" Dr. Schaff, however, thus concludes his review of the ten persecutions of the second and third centuries. "This long-continued and bloody war against that church which is built on a rock, utterly failed of its end. Aiming to exterminate, it only purified. God was in the bush, and therefore the fire had no power to consume it. The son of God walked with His martyrs in the midst of the burning fiery furnace of persecution, and they had no hurt." And still more to the point, the same writer, noticing the short periods of toleration granted under Gordianus (A.D. 238-244), Philip the Arabian (A.D. 244-249), and Gallienus, who immediately preceded Diocletian, speaks thus: "This season of repose cooled the moral zeal and brotherly love of the Christians; and the mighty storms of the following reigns (Decius and Diocletian) served well to restore the purity of the church." And again, "The forty years repose under Gallienus considerably enlarged the number and influence of the Christians indeed, but also abated their earnestness and zeal, and favoured their conformity to the world." The tremendous persecution under Diocletian and Galerius during the years A.D. 303, 304, whilst causing much schism and apostacy in the church, and whilst leading also to much merely fanatical courting of death, yet served wonderfully to exhibit the Divine strength of the church, and the heaven-born virtues of Christians; and like winter snows and wintry winds, formed the natural and healthy precursors of the spring and summer of the church under Constantine. The seed thus watered by the blood of the martyrs sprang up, and filled the face of the world with fruit. "The sufferings of the early Christians and the extraordinary exaltation of mind which enabled them to triumph over the diabolical tortures to which they were subjected, must have left traces not easily effaced. They scorned the earth, in view of that 'building of God, that house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.'"<sup>\*</sup>

The sufferings which all too soon disturbed the church, and which have lasted for fifteen centuries, make it a more difficult task to estimate aright the effect of persecution in the after ages. The great persecution of the Roman Catholic Missions in Japan in the seventeenth century, can hardly be regarded as evidence on this question. In the year 1615

<sup>\*</sup> Professor Tyndal. Opening address at the Belfast Meeting of the British Association. August 13, 1874.

there were forty thousand Christians in Nagasaki ; in the year 1622 not one remained. And although even now faint traces of their work come once and again to light, in carefully treasured Roman Catholic prayers or charms handed down as secret heir-looms for two centuries, yet the church was to all intents and purposes stamped out, and exterminated by that fierce persecution. But that was not Bible Christianity. During the eighty years of their peace and prosperity, the Roman Catholic missionaries did not give the Bible to the Japanese.

In very striking contrast to this, lies the history of the Madagascar church ; and in that history we possess perhaps the most remarkable illustration of Tertullian's words, since the earliest ages of the church. The blood of the Malagasy martyrs was literally the seed of the Malagasy church. Three hundred men and women were slain during the twenty years of storm ; but for every martyr who fell, some thirty Christians sprang up to fill and swell the ranks ; and the little band of a few hundreds had grown during the persecution into a body of ten thousand.

But here the contrast was great indeed. During the short eighteen years of their work on the island, the London Missionary Society's missionaries gave their time and energies chiefly to the translation of the Bible ; and strengthened thus by the very bread of heaven, the Malagasy church the more it was afflicted, the more it multiplied and grew.

The History of the Marian persecutions in England affords also a remarkable illustration of the proposition we are considering. "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley," cried Latimer at the crackling of the flames. "Play the man ; we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England, as I trust shall never be put out." And in an anonymous letter from a lady to Bonner, the following remarkable words occur : "As for the obtaining your Popish purpose in suppressing the truth, I put you out of doubt you shall not obtain it so long as you go this way to work as you do. *You have lost the hearts of twenty thousand that were rank Papists within these twelve months.*" "Here lay the secret the whole matter," remarks Froude. "The martyrs broke the spell of of orthodoxy ; and made the establishment of the Reformation possible. Every martyr's trial was a battle. Every constant death a defeat of the common enemy."

The *Madeira* persecutions also, that latest and perhaps the last outbreak of the flames of the Inquisition teach us the same lesson. One can hardly believe that only twenty five years ago, in an island the most beautiful in the world, and under the rule of a professedly Christian power, atrocities should have been practised which almost cast the T'ien-tsin massacre into the shade. For the sole reason that by attending the Bible classes of Dr. Kalley and Mr. Hewitson (in connection with the medical

work of the former), they had discovered that masses, penances, purgatory, and indulgences were unscriptural. Some of the natives were excommunicated,—fire, water, bread and all necessities of life being forbidden them; many were beaten; a mother was torn from the bosom of her family of seven children, one an infant, and incarcerated for sixteen months; the houses of converts were burnt down; assassination was suggested in the public papers, as an easy way of removing the heretics; a man was attacked in open day, and beaten and *bitten* by the women as he lay on the ground; the home of an English lady in which prayer-meetings were held, was attacked and forcibly entered by a furious mob. Dr. Kalley's life was deliberately attempted by men masked or with blackened faces, and he escaped but by a hair-breadth in disguise; some were brutally murdered; and at last, five hundred of the converts, in despair of toleration at home, emigrated to Trinidad, and a thousand to the United States. But with reference to this bitter and violent persecution (although in the event it has, I fear, proved only too successful), the chief actor Dr. Kalley, could yet at the time write thus: "The Lord seemed to temper the wind of persecution to the strength which He had Himself conferred; and to cause the opposition of His enemies to promote the strength of those who trusted in Him." And the historian speaks thus of the year 1847: "Their persecutions were the means of scattering the seed more widely; and thus God made the wrath of man to praise Him."\*

But now turning to the other side of the question. Although the evidence so far is apparently in favour of Tertullian's dictum, yet that evidence requires to be carefully analyzed. With some notable exceptions it seems nevertheless, that the effect of persecution even on the early church, which immediately succeeded to the apostolic era was rather purifying than fructifying; beneficial doubtless, but not in the exact way contemplated in our text.

What, I would ask, but harm and loss was brought to the church in North Africa by the inroad of the barbarous hordes in the fifth century? "The evening of Augustine's life," writes Dr. Schaff, "was troubled by increasing infirmity of body, and by the unspeakable wretchedness which the barbarous Vandals spread over his country; destroying in their march, cities, villages, and churches without mercy." This surely, if not direct persecution, was yet tribulation and distress for Christ's sake. And what was the result? Did the once flourishing church of Hippo weather the storm, and emerge from the darkness purified and increased?" Not so. She was swept away. Augustine

\* *The Madeira Persecution* published by the Religious Tract Society.

died, August 28, A. D. 430. Soon after his death Hippo was taken and destroyed; Africa was lost to the Romans; and the culmination of the African church was the beginning of her decline. Genseric and his son Hunneric bitterly persecuted the orthodox church of Africa, and endeavored to compel the Christians to become Arians; a retribution for the severe measures against the Donatists advocated by Augustine, to whom Schlegel ascribes the doubtful distinction of being the first to promulgate the doctrine that heretics must be suppressed by force. However this may be, persecution in Africa withered the African church; but the words of the historian illustrate again remarkably this second view of the subject which we are now considering. He remarks, "Yet in the midst of the terrors of the siege of Hippo, and despairing of his people, Augustine could not suspect what abundant seed he had sown for the future. His work could not perish. His ideas fell like living seed into the soil of Europe; and produced abundant fruit in cities and countries of which he had never even heard."

What but harm, I ask again, was brought to the true church in France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, after it had remained in force for sixty years? Her best sons emigrated in despair, and the church was down-trodden and well nigh extirpated.\*

What but harm was done to the true church in Spain by the Inquisition, which during the period between 1483 and 1808 burned 31,912 persons for so-called heresy, and subjected to the severest pains and penalties 291,450 more; that court of demoniacal animus, which would not relax its rigour till, after a hundred and twenty years of blood, Protestant Christianity was exterminated?

The seed blown away by this hurricane of persecution may have fallen into good ground in other parts of Europe, but in Spain the blood of the martyrs was *not* the seed of the Spanish church.

What but harm was brought to the true church in Italy by the fierce persecution during the sixteenth century? I quote from the preface to a well-known book, *From dawn to dark in Italy*: "One by one Italy's contingent to the noble army of martyrs was dismissed heavenward, amid blood and fire which darkened the land. Ruthless and

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\* The following remarks made by one who was working amongst the lower class of the inhabitants of Paris during the summer of the present year, may well be inserted here, as illustrating on the one hand the restrictive power of persecution, and on the other, the irresistible power of the pure Gospel. "If it should please God to remove the *grievous restrictions on religious liberty which hinder the Gospel in France*, I believe that there are few parts of the world where it would spread more rapidly. There was no country I suppose where the Gospel made more *real* progress at the first outbreak of the Reformation than this; not helped forward as in England and Germany by the civil power; but *steadily and rapidly growing for the first forty years in the face of atrocious persecution*. And it is very observable, that it was not till the Huguenots began to trust in their own strength and drew the sword, that their cause declined."

bloody persecution (mark the words) *was followed by a terrible retribution of spiritual death.*"

"The morning light is breaking," now over the hills and plains of China. A great persecution may quench the dawn and bring back night.

"As if a morning in June with all its music and sunshine,  
Suddenly paused in the sky, and fading slowly descended,  
Into the east again."

How often again by rigid exclusiveness, and refusal to recognize the diamond in the rugged rock, churches by persecution have driven their truest sons into nonconformity or into exile, and have suffered, not in numbers merely but in vitality and power.

I quote the closing paragraphs of Marsden's two volumes, in which with singular ability and rare catholicity, he has narrated the history of the early and later Puritans. Speaking of the overthrow of the church of England, and the ejection of two thousand of her clergy in A. D. 1642, and then of her sudden restoration, and the ejection of two thousand of the Presbyterian clergy in A.D. 1662, he writes thus. What good resulted to either persecuting party, or to the church, or to the nation by persecutions? "The Puritan party were the instruments of inflicting on the Episcopal church an awful punishment; not altogether unmerited, but far beyond what her greatest faults deserved; but the moment of their triumph was that in which they seemed to be smitten with paralysis and the hand of death." And again. "To the church of England the exclusion of the Nonconformists proved a melancholy triumph. God's favour was withdrawn. London was twice laid waste,—by pestilence and then by fire. Religion in England was almost extinguished. And when after ninety years the Gospel was once more proclaimed in the church, and without her pale by Doddridge and Venn, by Whitfield and the Wesleys, the tidings were received with all the surprise of novelty. When the Puritans were expelled, they carried with them the spiritual light of the Church of England; and yet even amongst themselves, the light had become dim and the glory had departed.

The return of liberty in 1688 did not revive the strength of the persecuted party. It dwindled away, and became first cold and formal, then Arian, and at length Socinian. And as an historical fact, the vigorous dissent of modern times is a new creation,—springing from the days of Doddridge and Whitfield." This strange anomaly meets us in the history of persecution,—that a strong and healthy church alone can well weather the storm of persecution; and that a strong and healthy church does not need persecution. Persecution though sometimes no doubt a simple trial of that grace (which by another apocryphal, however true, saying, we are told that God never gives without



afterwards trying it), is yet I believe more often *punitive*. If the churches of old had not cooled in their zeal and love, and had not conformed to the world, perhaps the persecutions of Decius and of Diocletian would never have fallen. Is it *inevitable* for the churches thus to decline in time of peace and prosperity? No, surely! Why should not the picture given us in Acts ix, be true in all ages of the Christian church, and true here in China? "Then had the churches rest throughout all Judæa and Galilee and Samaria, and were edified; and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied." This is all we can desire,—*edification* and *multiplication*. And what were the conditions of this state of consolidation and growth? *Rest*, not unrest; the fear of God, the comfort of the Holy Ghost,—not persecution. Although, therefore, we must *expect* perhaps more or less of persecution, and that, probably on a large scale as Christianity advances in China (for to use one of Cawdray's similes, "as the sun, when in the midst of the day he is highest, is then hottest; so likewise persecution is the companion of the pure and uncorrupt religion of Christ"), yet is it in nowise to be desired or prayed for. Let us pray for an outpouring of the Holy Ghost, not for an outpouring of the vials of *man's* malice and persecution. Let us pray with Zacharias,—that God would grant unto the Chinese Christians, that they being delivered out of the hand of their enemies, may serve Him without fear, in holiness before Him and righteousness (not necessarily with declension of zeal and love), all the days of their life.

Thanks be to God, the future triumph of the church is sure. She may have to go through fire and water, but she will surely be brought out into a wealthy place.

Alas! how we miss, and shall continually miss, one voice which never failed to speak to us words of wisdom and of hope. I know not what view he (our departed brother Dr. Knowlton)\* would have taken on this particular subject; but I remember well a conversation with him a short time before his removal, in which he spoke of the comparatively torpid state of the native churches, as his chief sorrow. He rests now from that and from every sorrow, and with what exultation will he awake ere long, refreshed from sleep, to see the Gospel everywhere triumphant. He is but slumbering, as slumbered according to the ancient legend, the seven Ephesian youths. They were said to have fled to a cave during the persecution under Decius; and after a sleep of two hundred years they awoke, amazed to find the once hated and execrated religion of the cross now dominant in city and country. So

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\* This paper was read at the first meeting of the Association after the death of Dr. Knowlton



with our brother who has left us for a while ; and so even now by the far-glancing eye of faith may it be for us. Yet a little while, and notwithstanding all the malice of Satan, and all the hatred of man, notwithstanding, or *by means of* trial and persecution, and every adverse influence, the Gospel shall triumph in China, and in all lands, and Christ Jesus shall reign, king of kings and Lord of lords.

Ningpo, October 6, 1874.

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**SOME REMARKS ON A RECENT CORRESPONDENCE  
IN THE NORTH CHINA HERALD.\***

By REV. G. E. MOULE.

THE correspondence which has only recently closed on "Christain Missions from a Chinese point of view," has been in some respects so interesting, that readers of the *Recorder* will perhaps not object to a few words with reference to it, by way of reminiscence.

Missionaries of any experience are well aware, that the degree of privilege such as it is, possessed by Chinese converts to Christianity, under the treaties with western powers, is not without its injurious results on the moral health of the communities of which they are members. And an expedient to obviate such results would no doubt be welcomed by us all, if it could be shown to be feasible ; even though we were stripped of that power and credit which the Chinese correspondent of the North-China Herald,—Mr. Chih, assumed to be so dear to us as a class. Without pretending to be more than human, I venture to think that obstinate prejudice had very little to do with leading most of us to conclude that Mr. C. had failed to offer any remedy for the evils, more or less, of the existing condition of things.

At the outset I confess it was disappointing to find, that the "point of view" was scarcely, in any strict sense, "Chinese" after all.

It was damaged first of all, by passing the Chinese gentleman's views through the medium of a translation. And besides this, it soon became apparent that he had access to foreign sources of opinion ; and formed his views, not simply on the sages and scholars who had assisted him in getting his degree, and whose writings define the true Chinese point of view, but on Barbarian writers besides ;—possibly Buckle on *Civilization* for statistics, and Comte, or however Congreve and Bridges, for doctrine, communicated by his western acquaintance. His

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\* We regret that it has been found necessary to postpone the publication of this paper, so long after the Correspondence to which it refers. That correspondence will probably be fresh in the minds of many of our readers yet. Others of our readers may never have seen it ; but in any case, the subject is one of more than mere ephemeral interest ; and we are glad therefore now to present the views of our esteemed contributor.—Ed.

reasonings, in short, appeared to me hardly more originally Chinese, then those of Dr. Bridges himself, in his clever but fallacious International Essay of six or seven years ago.

It is true we hardly needed the assurance of the editor of the N. C. H. that Mr. C. was a *bona fide* Chinaman. The naïveté with which he asked,—I think in his last letter,—whether the “ruling classes” would quietly submit to the establishment in England of a Roman-catholic *propaganda* such as the great missionary organizations in China, was alone enough to settle that question, apart from points of style and manner throughout the letters.

But a composition will suffer at the hands of the ablest translator; and when the present translator avowed himself to be also Mr. C.’s “collaborateur,” one felt that we might indeed have access to a Chinese point of view, but it was that of a Chinaman tainted or refined, as you please, by European liberalism, instead of the true Chinese undefiled.

To come to the substance of the discussion. The points attempted to be made out by Mr. C. were, if I recollect rightly, two; *first*, that the principal cause of the irritation against foreigners on the part of Chinese of the ruling class, was not indeed Christianity, which at least ethically, was allowed to be good; but—the premium put upon conversion to Christianity, by those clauses of the treaties which guarantee protection for native converts; and so, sanction interference on their behalf by ambassadors and consuls in case of persecution. And *secondly*, that the remedy for this irritation, lay in the removal of its cause, by the abrogation of all treaty-protection of religious persons as such; so that no Chinese whatever should have the right to appeal to foreigners, from his own rulers.

It was urged that missionaries, as honest well-wishers to China, ought to recognize the injury done to the public by the present system; and taking blame to themselves on account of it, should do their best to induce their governments to renounce the obnoxious clauses;—at least for an experiment of a few years. Mr. C. ventured to predict a very fair amount of benevolent equity on the part of mandarins, in dealing with questions of alleged persecution, if they were once secure from foreign interference.

I think nothing of importance beyond these two points was attempted to be substantiated; although, as the discussion proceeded, certain expressions disparaging to Christian doctrine were let fall, and having been resented, gave rise to a good deal of rather warm debate.

The difficulty that suggested itself at once in the way of adopting the “Chinese point of view,” was that the special privileges of native Christians can occasion, after all, but a very small fraction of the an-

noyance which Chinese of the upper classes feel towards their foreign guests or lodgers.

If these privileges were cancelled to-morrow, there would still remain the system of extritoriality; than which anything more galling to an ancient and proud people can scarcely be imagined. Here is a nation, possessed of laws and regular government centuries before our English ancestors dreamt of them, who nevertheless have been told, by the provisions of half-a-dozen treaties, that their courts of justice are so deficient in the first elements of equity, that our governments decline to entrust them with the life and liberty of the meanest of us all.

However, in searching for causes of irritation at present, it is surely worth the while to enquire what actually occasioned or precipitated the quarrels which have already occurred between England, for example, and China. Had Christianity, or, to speak strictly to Mr. C.'s allegation,—had special privileges accorded to native Christians anything whatever to do with either of those quarrels?

For the first of them, however, one may hold the scales between Chinese exclusiveness and mandarin extortion on the one hand, and English cupidity on the other, which introduced with bayonets as a trade-staple, the drug which has hardly been less mischievous to wholesome commerce, than to human health and morals. It was commerce, and not religion in any sense whatever, that furnished both the real and ostensible cause of war.

The second was due to perfectly similar causes. And although the French alliance imported into it the religious element, it was not in such a manner as to confirm in any degree Mr. C.'s position;—since the persecutions and murders for which the French sought redress, had been perpetrated, not under a state of treaty protection, but in regions and at a time in which no protection had been claimed or afforded by foreign powers.

It would be idle to deny to Mr. C., as a Chinaman, an acquaintance with Chinese opinion and sentiment greater than we can possess. But on his part, he ought not to be indifferent to the fact, that, of the two wars which unhappily have been fought between China and western powers, neither owed its outbreak to that cause from which springs, according to him, the most serious part of the irritation that notoriously exists, and threatens danger to both parties, up to this moment.

Granting however, for argument's sake, that he is right in his account of the origin of the mischief, what would Mr. C. do to remove it?

"Abrogate," he says, "the clauses which bind China to protect native Christians from persecution, and so give occasion to missionaries and consuls to interfere in our native courts, in purely native cases, and there will be no more trouble."

Now what missionaries and converts fear in the native courts is not so much the animosity of the mandarin, as the absolute *uncertainty* of the justice he administers.

In one of his letters, X. Y. Z. mentioned an interdict with penal consequences suddenly laid upon a Taoist temple at Ningpo during the past summer. Two or three years ago Buddhist convents in the same city were summarily closed, the monks arrested and beaten, and traffic in Buddhist 'indulgences' made penal; on the sole authority of the che-heen for the time being.

As to the minor sects,—some political, but some also purely ascetic and religious,—they are dealt with from time to time in the same arbitrary manner. More than once in my experience, members of one of these ascetic communities, the Wu-wei keaou, have made proposals to be received by us as converts; their motive appearing, upon enquiry, to be simply the wish to obtain foreign protection from mandarin extortion under which they were suffering. One instance occurred before the Tien-tsin treaties were signed. In each case, when they found we could give them no admittance upon such terms, the release of their brethren from prison was purchased by heavy bribes, and the matter dropped.

No doubt these religions and sects are all disparaged and condemned by the orthodox,—for example, in that authorized manual of Chinese faith and duty, the *Sacred Edict*. But they are nevertheless so far tolerated, and in the case of the principal religions, actually patronized by both emperor and mandarins, that interference such as has been mentioned is cruel, even where it is not obviously venal.

For the immorality alleged to be connected with the temple festivals, the remedy for that,—since it is in no sense sanctioned by the religious codes,—would surely be, not spasmodic repression, but an honest inspection of the convents, if such things were possible under a mandarin government.

Missionaries and converts apprehend interferences at least as *arbitrary*, cruel, and venal in their case, as they see taking place in the affairs of the patronized and widely influential communities of Buddha and Laou-keun. And, treaty or no treaty, missionaries will never stand by and see their converts harassed whilst they as Englishmen are protected.

Now I venture to think that their intercessions, in such a condition of things, on the bare ground of humanity, would move reluctant consuls and ministers more, instead of less, effectually than those which they now occasionally address to them, backed and yet regulated by ambiguously-worded clauses, which are interpreted always as much as possible in the sense of Mr. C.

Besides which, public opinion now at length begins to make itself heard in China; and I do not doubt that Mr. C. himself, in the *Shun-paou*, or some suitable vehicle, would soon appear on the side of the persecuted, with appeals to *jus* and *fas*, as earnest and honest, but withal quite as irritating to the ruling classes, as those which his friend made the other day, in the matter of the unhappy Chih-li player, when in the clutches of the Canton guild and the che-heen of Shanghae.

X. Y. Z. insisted that Roman-catholic and Protestant missions must be looked at separately; and, notwithstanding Mr. C.'s peremptory demur, there seems to be reason in the claim, at least in a discussion like the present; both in respect of the origin of the protection extended to the Romanists, and in respect of the official position and rank assumed by their ecclesiastics, and the exemptions and privileges demanded for their converts. In this city, for instance, I am assured that Roman-catholic artizans refuse to pay their "footing" in the trade guilds, and are sustained in this by their priests. Our people never dream of such a privilege, or, if they do, are soon told their mistake.

Mr. C. appeared,—but perhaps only appeared,—to think of us missionaries as accustomed to act together, and with considerable energy, in public affairs.

So far as I know, the only occasion on which Protestant missionaries in all parts of China co-operated in this way, was the memorable one, when they drew down upon themselves no little obloquy, by joining in a warm protest against the opium trade. Nevertheless many of us are so much alive to the mischief occasioned by the attraction to us of insincere converts, by the hope of treaty protection, that, if we could see anything hopeful in Mr. C.'s proposition, we should do our best to support it; even though we do not agree with him, that the existing animosity is due in any considerable degree to religious sentiment, or to jealousy of privileges afforded to Christians.

The above considerations were all, I think, brought forward by Lacon and X.Y.Z. in their replies to Mr. C.; particularly by the latter. It was to be regretted, that the discussion was allowed in some degree to wander from the real issue, and in a fragmentary and therefore unsatisfactory manner to touch on the infinitely important question of the truth and divinity of Christianity itself.

Mr. C. having let fall the phrase,—“strange and incomprehensible doctrines,” and having assured us that without artificial support, Christianity would never win its way in China, Lacon was provoked apparently, to the retort that whereas *coolies* receive and understand Christianity, it amounted to a confession of inferiority, on the part of an educated Confucianist, to speak in this way of its doctrines.

Mr. C.'s not very powerful letters had all the disadvantage of coming to us,—as his respondent's replies must have come to him,—through the medium of an interpreter; and I could have wished, I confess, that the disparaging phrase had been allowed to pass for what it was worth, under such circumstances. Lacon hardly needs to be reminded, that the essential doctrines of Christianity are in fact *per se* 'strange and incomprehensible' after all.

Neither our unlearned converts, nor ourselves, nor our greatest human leader and example, St. Paul, ever apprehended one of them by the force of natural or cultivated intellect, but by the help of the Holy Ghost;—a Being whom, blessed be God, we think we know and have communion with; and whose aid is indispensable by the most accomplished intellect, as by the rudest, who would be initiated into that first principle of Christianity,—namely "that Jesus is the Lord." (I Corinth. xii. 3.) St. Paul's intellect and culture were, I suppose, as keen and as finished when he approached Damascus, a persecutor, as when he left it an apostle. But his insight into the "love that passeth knowledge,"—into "the unsearchable riches of Christ," was very different. In the interval he had in fact been "born again of water and of the Holy Ghost." As we all acknowledge these things, I regretted the sarcasm about the comparative intelligence of our coolie converts and our critic Mr. C.

How little,—though "the veil" is, we trust, taken from our hearts, do we yet know of the 'length and breadth and depth and height' of that love which is all our hope, as it is also our pattern!

Lacon's remark called up 'Translator,' who,—to show its fallacy, and convict our friend, of either ignorance or unfairness,—thought it desirable to quote Buckle on the prevalence of scepticism. This, alas! was scarcely necessary. Lacon and all of us know to our sorrow, that 'belief in our report' is very far from being the rule at home or abroad; and, in particular, that at home, neology, rationalism, forethought, scepticism and similar names include a very large number of nominal Christians educated and uneducated too.

But statistics are inevitably fallacious if taken only on one side of a question. And, thank God, this very nineteenth century, of developing and expanding science, has witnessed, on the other side, a very great and manifest growth of Christian belief, under and notwithstanding the searching glare of the scientific light which some expect to enervate it.

Not to speak of whole provinces, if not kingdoms, now permeated with evangelical teaching, in which there was hardly a sound or a letter of such teaching at the beginning of the century, England itself seventy

years ago, and still more a hundred and forty years ago, was almost non-Christian as compared with her condition now, after a century of the scientific ordeal. I do not mean non-Christian in respect of morality or humanity; our advance in which might be ascribed, though inaccurately, to science rather than to religion. But in respect of serious and intelligent acceptance of distinctive Christian doctrine, the Christianity of England is vastly in advance of its situation in 1800, and yet more so of that seventy years earlier still.

Detail is out of the question in this paper. But contrast the tone,—whatever may be thought of the issues,—of the late debates in parliament on the regulation of public worship, with that of Wilberforce's earlier days, when it was scarcely parliamentary to quote the Bible. And compare the character for serious profession of Christianity, borne by a number of contemporary statesmen, including three successive lord chancellors; of whom two, liberals, have been Sunday-school teachers nearly all their lives,—with the times of which Bishop Butler sadly wrote, that 'it was come, he knew not how, to be taken for granted by many persons, that Christianity was not so much as a subject of enquiry, but now at length was discovered to be fictitious.' Make a few comparisons of this kind, and, faith in God's word apart, I think we may feel satisfied that dogmatic Christianity has lost no real ground, by that which missionaries as a body desire and hail as cordially as 'Translator' can do,—the advance of social and material science. 'Godliness hath the promise of the life that now is and of that which is to come;' and God's mind is written in both His books, the book of His works and the book of His *word, though brightest and clearest in the latter.*—

With regard to the possibility of Christianity winning its way in China, with or without artificial support, it may be interesting to refer to a notice of the census of Madras as classified by the Sanitary Commissioner, Mr. Cornish, F. R. C. S., extracted from the *Friend of India* in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* of last August.

This census shews the following facts: (1), that the population of the Madras presidency,—exclusive of Travancore and Cochin,—had risen from twenty-two millions to thirty-one millions in the twenty years ending with 1871. During that period a census has been taken every five years,—and the rates of periodical increase are as follows:—

(2), In the first five years, 3.7 per cent; in the next, 7.8; in the next, 7.6; in the last, 16 per cent!

(3), The *actual* increase in fifteen years, and the increase *per cent*, are as follows:—



*Census of Madras Presidency, analyzed.*

| CREED.            | 1856       | 1871       | INCREASE<br>PER CENT. |
|-------------------|------------|------------|-----------------------|
| Christians.....   | 328,666    | 545,120    | 51                    |
| Mohammedans. .... | 1,352,992  | 1,866,363  | 33                    |
| Hindus.....       | 20,726,197 | 29,160,807 | 37                    |

On this it may be remarked, that two considerable provinces, —Cochin and Travancore, in which Christians, Syrian, Protestant and Romanist, are numerous,—are omitted in the computation ; that of the aggregate number of Christians stated above as existing in 1871, upwards of four-fifths were Roman-catholics ; that the numbers of both communities are below those shewn by the annual tables of the Romanist missions, and the ‘careful’ quinquennial ‘enumerations’ of the Protestant Christians ; and lastly that, as the Sanitary Inspector states, he finds the greater rate of increase among the Christians is due to “the spread of Christianity among the natives of India, and not to any considerable additions to the European or Eurasian population.”

It may be worth while to add, though it is well known to readers of the Recorder, that the attitude of the British government,—at one time from mistaken motives distinctly hostile to the spread of Christianity in India,—is even now strictly and carefully neutral ; so that no sort of premium or privilege attaches to the profession of Christianity.

HANGCHOW.

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IN MEMORIAM.

Mrs. LUCY E. C. STARR LORD.

THIS excellent woman, the wife of E. C. Lord, who has been for many years a missionary, and latterly U. S. Consul at Ningpo, died at her residence on the 27th of February last, after an illness somewhat protracted, but which,—until within the last few weeks,—was not such as to give occasion for serious apprehension. In the early part of the past summer she had a severe attack of ophthalmia, which weakened her good a deal for a time, and may have done her permanent injury in unfitting her for the trying season which followed. However, she passed through the summer in tolerable health ; but in the early part of autumn she suffered some from fever, which at that time was very prevalent in the place. Finding herself a good deal run down, she

yielded to the wish of her friends to go to Shanghae for a little change; and spent most of the month of October there very pleasantly, and, we hoped, profitably, in the family of her kind friends Dr. and Mrs. Yates. At the close of the month she returned home; not strong, but stronger, and with fair prospect, we thought, of soon regaining her usual strength. But our fond hopes in this respect were not to be realized. She was evidently improved so far as concerned her febrile symptoms; but another difficulty,—diarrhœa,—which had first appeared and troubled her slightly once or twice while at Shanghae, kept troubling her now and then after her return to Ningpo. In this way she continued for the next two or three months, sometimes better and sometimes not so well; but generally able to be about, and always hoping to be better soon. By this time, however, the result of the conflict was against her. She had grown thinner and weaker; and the difficulty above referred to, if it was not worse, was little if any better. She was now obliged to give up her usual walks, though she still kept about the house; and it was hardly more than ten days that she was confined to her room, and only three that she kept her bed. She herself thought almost to the last, that she should get well; and one can hardly say that there appeared any sufficient reason for thinking otherwise, except that she was continually getting weaker. She suffered little or no pain; and her diarrhœa latterly seemed better rather than worse. She was cheerful and hopeful to the last, desiring to live for her work, and for those whom she loved; but ready to die if God so willed it. He did so will it; and she has gone.

The subject of this brief sketch, Lucy E. Collins, was born in the city of Boston, Mass., on the 27th day of July, 1828. While yet a child, her parents removed to the state of Illinois, which was then in the far west, a distance,—measured by the time it took to travel it,—nearly as great as that which now girdles the earth. Here in Griggsville, Pike County, a land of sunshine, a land of prairies, and a land of flowers, she found her early home. Here, in health and comfort, under the training of an amiable, pious, and judicious mother, she grew up into girlhood and womanhood. And here, at the age of twenty-two, she married, left the home of her childhood and youth, the home of parental love and care, and entered into the stern work and hard battle of life. She married the Rev. William Starr, a young man then settled over the congregational church of which she and her parents were members. Not long after their marriage, Mr. Starr was called to take charge of the congregational church in Elgin in the same state. Here he remained until his death, which occurred in 1854, some four years after their marriage.

Only a few weeks before this event she had been summoned to her early home to bury her mother,—that mother whom she had all her life long so fondly loved, and to whom her heart still clung with all the freshness of childhood, and with all the strength of maturer years. In the removal of this excellent mother she sustained a great loss, and she felt it most keenly. Ah! she little thought while her tears were yet falling, and her heart still yearning over her mother's grave, how soon this great sorrow was to be swallowed up in another greater still! But so it was. They had returned to their own home but a few weeks before death came there, and took from it the dear one to whom she had given her heart, and to whom she had consecrated her life. "O death, where is they sting? O grave, where is they victory?" The dying may say this, who die to live and love in a better sphere. But the living, what shall they say? Has death for them no sting?—the grave no victory? Let them answer who have stood face to face with these destroyers, and who in tears and pain have been forced to resign the dear ones whom they so much loved, and on whom they so much leaned.

Mrs. Starr, after her husband's death, returned to her early home. Her father was still there to welcome her; and much he needed her to cheer and bless that home for him. There was also there a dear sister, her only living one; and she was now in a sick and dying condition, and needed much a sister's love and a sister's care. Thus with sorrow God gave her labor; and labor is one of the best remedies for grief. So God is merciful, not only when he gives to the weary rest, but when he gives to the restless toil. Into this labor she entered with all her native energy, and with that unselfish whole-hearted devotion that characterized her everywhere, and in everything that she undertook. It was not long that she could minister to the sick and dying one. The grave soon claimed her sister as it had claimed her mother and her husband; and in the course of a few years it was so ordered (her father having married again), that there was no necessity for her remaining longer at home, should there be any urgent call for her services elsewhere.

There was such a call, and she was quick to hear it. It came from hospitals which rampant war was now filling with sick and wounded soldiers. But in speaking of this part of her life, the writer prefers to use the language of another. It is found in one of those volumes that appeared at the close of the war, describing the services of some of the many noble women who distinguished themselves during it, by their patriotic and philanthropic labors. The article quoted from commences:—

## "MRS. LUCY E. STARR.

"In the early period of the civil war, this heroic woman left her home in Griggsville, Illinois, came to St. Louis and offered her services to the Western Sanitary Commission, as a nurse in the hospitals. She was already known as a person of excellent Christian character, of education and refinement, of real practical ability, the widow of a deceased clergyman, and full of the spirit of kindness and patriotic sympathy towards our brave soldiers in the field. Her services were gladly accepted, and she entered at once upon her duties as a nurse in the Fifth Street Hospital at St. Louis, which was in charge of the excellent Dr. John T. Hodgen, an eminent surgeon of that city.

"For nearly two years Mrs. Starr served as nurse in this hospital, having charge of one of the special diet kitchens, and ministering with her own hands to the sick and wounded inmates. In these services the great kindness of her manners, the cheerful and hopeful spirit that animated her, the words of sympathy and encouragement she gave her patients, and the efficiency and excellence of everything she did, won for her a large measure of esteem and confidence, and made her a favorite nurse with the authorities of the hospital, and with the sick and wounded who received her ministrations and care. Small in stature, it was wonderful how much labor she was able to accomplish, and how she was sustained by a soul full of noble purposes and undoubting faith.

"In the autumn of 1863, Mrs. Starr was needed by the Western Sanitary Commission, to take the position of Matron of the Soldiers' Home at Memphis, to have charge of the domestic arrangements of the institution, and to extend a true hospitality to the many invalid soldiers going on furlough to their homes or returning to the hospitals, or to their regiments, passing through Memphis on their way. The number thus entertained sometimes reached as high as three hundred and fifty in one day. The average daily number for two years and a half was one hundred and six.....In the internal management of this institution, and in the kind hospitality extended to the soldiers, Mrs. Starr was doing a congenial work. For two years she filled this position with great fidelity and success, and to the highest satisfaction of those who placed her there, and of all who were the guests of the Home. At the end of this service, on the closing of the Home, the Superintendent, in his final report to the Western Sanitary Commission, makes this acknowledgment of her services :—'It would not only be improper but unjust, not to speak of the faithfulness and hearty coöperation of the excellent and much-esteemed Matron, Mrs. Lucy E. Starr. Her mission has been full of trials and discouragements, yet she has patiently and uncomplainingly struggled through them all; and during my

frequent absences she has cheerfully assumed the entire responsibility of the Home. Her Christian forbearance and deep devotion to the cause of humanity have won the admiration of all who have come within the sphere of her labors.

"On the closing of the Soldiers' Home, Mrs. Starr became connected with an institution for the care of suffering refugees and freedmen at Memphis, under the patronage of the Freedmen's Aid Commission of Cincinnati, Ohio.....

"Thus she continued to be a worker for the suffering soldiers of the Union army from the beginning to the end of the war; and when peace had come, devoted herself to the poor and suffering refugees and freedmen, whom the war had driven from their homes and reduced to misery and want. With a wonderful fortitude, endurance and heroism she persevered in her faithfulness to the end; and through the future of her life on earth and in heaven, those whom she had comforted and relieved of their sorrows and distresses will constitute for her a crown of rejoicing; and their tears of gratitude will be the brightest jewels in her diadem."

During the long and unremitted services referred to in the above extracts, the health of this indefatigable laborer had seriously suffered, not only from severe and incessant toil, but from climatic influences, and above all from the poisoned atmosphere in which much of her work was necessarily done. And it was during this period and in these services, no doubt, that the fatal seeds were sown which ripened in her early death. On finishing her work in Memphis she was too ill for some time to labor anywhere. In the meantime she had buried her father, and now she alone was left. The home of her childhood and youth,—the home where all her family had lived, and where all but herself had died,—was left; and it was left for her to occupy. She went to it, walked through it, and wandered about; but it was too desolate to be endured. So she left it for strangers, and turned herself away, homeless and friendless, into the wide wide world. Homeless? Yes. Friendless? No,—not friendless; for God had given her the power to make friends wherever she went.

From this time on to the year 1870, she found occupation, as soon as her health was sufficiently restored to undertake it, in important positions, where she made herself useful, and won the confidence and esteem of those about her. In the mean time her heart had become turned towards the mission field; and when the door opened to her in that direction she gladly entered it. She was sent out in the summer of 1870 by the Woman's Union Missionary Society in New York, to take charge of their Mission Home in Peking. On arriving in China,

she and her associate, Miss North, were detained in Shanghai through the autumn and winter, owing to the unsettled state of things consequent on the Tientsin massacre. In the early spring they went on to Peking; where she remained,—doing such work as she was able to do, and bearing such burdens as she found to bear,—until the spring of 1873, when she was married to Mr. Lord, and removed to Ningpo.

On reaching Ningpo she found abundance of work,—work congenial, and work in which she took a deep and lively interest. She entered upon it with great energy and with real efficiency. Her work, as she considered it, was first to make around her a pleasant home, a home of health, comfort, and hospitality; and then to do what lay in her power for the physical, moral, and religious improvement of the Chinese brought under her influence. In this latter work there were difficulties of course; and in her case these were increased by the circumstance of her slight acquaintance with the Ningpo dialect. But she met these difficulties with a steady hand and a stout heart. Her aim in everything was high; and she never shrank from toil and care, when toil and care seemed needed; it is quite possible even that there were times when she took upon herself too much. There was one at least who feared so, and who often importuned her to restrain her ardor, and for no reason to undertake anything but what she felt satisfied she could do without injurious fatigue. And this no doubt was her own wish, and her own purpose. But alas! who, that has a heart to work, can always,—where so much needs to be done,—keep from doing too much? It is not however intended to be intimated by this remark, that Mrs. Lord's illness and death are directly traceable to any unusual toil or hardship connected with her labors at Ningpo. On the contrary, a medical friend acquainted with her and her past history would trace them to remoter causes, more particularly to her labors in hospitals on the banks of the Mississippi. But life and death are mysteries, which are but little understood; and perhaps the wisest among us are but poorly prepared to tell us, when our loved ones die, why it was so, or how it could have been otherwise.—O Death!

“ We know when moons shall wane,  
When summer birds from far shall cross the sea,  
When autumn's hue shall tinge the golden grain;  
But who shall teach us when to look for thee?  
Is it when spring's first gale,  
Comes forth to whisper where the violets lie?  
Is it when roses in our paths grow pale?  
They have *one* season; *all* are ours to die!”

Yes,

“Leaves have their time to fall,  
And flowers to wither at the north wind's breath,  
And stars to set ; but all,  
Thou hast *all* seasons for thine own, O Death !”

After what has been said, it is presumed that no labored analysis of the character of this noble woman, will be deemed necessary. The chief elements of her character,—her patriotism, her philanthropy, her benevolence, her intelligence, her piety, her energy, her tact, her devotion, her gentleness, her cheerfulness, her hopefulness, and, crowning all, her deep, unselfish, tender love,—have all passed before us. A character in which so many and so noble virtues were blended, one scarcely need say, could hardly have failed to fit her to fill with usefulness and honor almost any sphere in life. And we know that it did fit her eminently for that sphere in which the providence of God placed her. She was called to a great work. She did it, and did it well ; and her service when done was no doubt acknowledged before the angels of God, in those sweet words that fell so long ago in promise from our Saviour's lips : “Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord,”—an acknowledgment which those ministering spirits, that had so long watched her in her toil, and tears, and pain, must have heard with joy, and smiling cried : “Amen !” Nor they alone ; but thousands of the once poor, the sick, and the suffering whom she had served and blessed, some still on earth and some already in heaven, could they have heard it, would have added with deeper joy, and with loud acclaim : “Amen ! Amen !” “Blessed, are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours ; and their works do follow them.” We weep ; but our tears are not for the dear ones at rest. We know that the harp and the crown are far better than the cross and the pain. We weep not for them,—we weep for ourselves alone. Our tears may be selfish. Be it so ; who are not selfish in their hours of grief ? Our heart treasures,—those so near and dear to us,—how can we give them up but in tears and pain ? Yes in *tears* and *pain*, but not in *despair*. We part indeed, but not for ever. Love, like the soul, is deathless, and lives beyond the grave. In the true home of love our dear ones await us ; and we shall soon greet them there.

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## Correspondence.

SIR,—

A passage in Dr. Bretschneider's interesting translation of Ch'ang-ch'un's Itinerary, in your Journal for September-October (p. 248), has suggested a solution of a remaining difficulty in the interpretation of Marco Polo's geography; I mean in regard to the region which he calls *Chingintalas*, *Chinchintalas*, *Ghingintalas* &c. according to various readings. These various readings may imply also very different pronunciations; e. g. *Tch'ingh'in*, *Kinghin*, *Tchintchin*, *Ghinghin*. I adopted as probable the reading TCHINGHIN or *Tchigin*. But Dr. Bretschneider's translation suggests to me that the real form should be *Kin-kin* or *Ghin-ghin*, and that it is the same with the *Kien-kien chau* of his traveller. Dr. B. has justly pointed out the identity of the *Kien-kien chau* with the *Kem-kem-jüt* of the Persian historian Rashid-uddin.

Rashid couples the territory of the Kirghiz with *Kem-kem-jüt*, but defines the region embracing both somewhat elaborately: "On one side (qu. S. E.?) it bordered on the Mongol country; on a second (N. E.?) it was bounded by the Selenga; on a third (N.) by the great river called Angara, which flows on the confines of Ibir-Sibir (i. e. Siberia); on a fourth side by the territory of the Naimans. This great country contained many towns and villages, as well as many nomad inhabitants." (This is taken from *D'ohsson, Hist. des Mongols*, but I cannot at the moment give the page.) Dr. Bretschneider's traveller speaks of *Kien-kien chau* as a country where good iron was found, where squirrels (grey?) abounded, and where wheat was cultivated. Other notices quoted by him show that it lay to the S. E. of the Kirghiz country, and had its name from the *Kien* or *Ken* R. que. the Upper Yenisei?

Turning to Polo, the chief points about his *Kinkin-talas* (assuming that form as we lawfully may), are that it contains numerous towns and villages; that it has at its northern extremity excellent mines of steel; and that it contains asbestos. The asbestos is not mentioned by Rashid or Ch'ang-ch'un, but it is mentioned by Martini, as found "in the Tartar country of Tangu" (not *Tangut*), which I apprehend to be the *Tangu-ola* mountains to the south of the Upper Yenisei valley. And we see that Ch'ang-ch'un mentions the good iron, whilst Rashid speaks of the numerous towns and villages,—the latter an indication which we should by no means expect in such a position.

As regards Polo's indications of position, it is sufficient to say, that the position which was assigned to *Chingintalas* in my Polo Itinerary Map (No. IV) merely requires to be shifted a very little due north, to make it suit *Kem-kem-jüt*. I look on the identity as almost Q. E. D., and in dealing with such identifications, none is ever quite satisfactory till we find the term historically used in the literature of the period. This we now find.

PALERMO, January 22d, 1875.

H. YULE.

DEAR SIR,—

I shall feel greatly obliged if you will kindly find space for the following letter of thanks, to those gentlemen, who so kindly helped me in drawing up my two papers entitled *Zaitun Researches*.

I have first to thank the Rev. Dr. Talmage and other members of the Dutch Reformed Church for their kindness, in giving me access to the valuable local histories contained in their library.

I have also to thank the Rev. Carstairs Douglas, LL. D. and other members of the Presbyterian Mission ;—Dr. Douglas especially, for many important suggestions ; and the other gentlemen for their kindness in affording me quarters at their mission stations, both in the Chin-chew and Chang-chow prefectures.

I am equally indebted to the members of the London Mission, for kind help and assistance at Chang-chow.

I am greatly indebted to Yeh Wen-lan, the sub-commissioner of the Imperial Arsenal at Foochow, who placed at my disposal many rare and costly Chinese works, without which it would have been impossible for me to have satisfactorily completed my researches.

I remain, dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

AMOY, 1st March, 1875.

GEO. PHILLIPS.

DEAR SIR,—

On a visit a short time since, to the 白鹿洞 *Pih-luh t'ung* on the 廬山 *Lew shan*, I saw a statue of Confucius ; his face and hands were painted ebony black. I have made enquiry of several natives, and they say the color is correct. If this is the case, one is led to doubt his nationality as being a Chinese, and even go so far as to presume that he is thus made to represent none other than Nimrod. I shall be glad to know if this is the case elsewhere, and whether an explanation can be given.

Sincerely yours,

PO-YEANG.

MY DEAR SIR,—

We were much discouraged at the close of 1874, by a review of our progress in this city and in the country round, during the twelve months that had passed. The number of baptisms in most of the missions was decidedly below the average ; and the masses of the heathen were still wrapped in deep sleep.

I felt all the more strongly, on this account, the encouragement afforded by two cases, which I will very briefly narrate, in which the triumphant power of the gospel was shown in the face of the sorest trial and the most paralyzing difficulties. In October last, I visited a small walled town on the sea-shore near Nimrod Sound, in which place about a year ago, we succeeded in renting a small room for preaching.

The object of my visit in October, was to baptize the first fruit of evangelistic work in that town, a small farmer residing in the suburbs. He had been laid aside and brought very low by the typhoid fever

which raged so fearfully in all this neighbourhood last autumn. On my arrival, I was told that he was too weak to walk, but that he would soon be at the chapel. Presently he appeared, carried in an inverted square table by his son and nephew. While I was waiting for his arrival, I heard a remarkable testimony to the power of the gospel spontaneously given by a heathen. "The doctrine you preach," said this man (an educated man in easy circumstances), "is excellent." "Where did you hear it?" I asked. "I have never *heard* it," he replied, "but I have *seen* it. I know a man, formerly the pest and the terror of his neighbourhood, a man with a violent temper, quarrelsome, meddlesome, and an opium-smoker. In two quarrels, he had shed blood; and he was more like a wild beast than a man. Well, this doctrine took hold of him; and strange to say, he has become gentle and forbearing; he has broken off his opium, and is quite a different being." I have since learnt from Mr. Galpin, that this man (now connected with his mission, and converted I believe at a station opened by Dr. Parker some few years ago) is all that my heathen informant described him to be.

Well, my friend, the applicant for baptism, arrived in his primitive sedan. I held service in the small chapel, completely filled with the fellow-townsmen of this Christian Chinaman. He gladly confessed faith in Christ crucified before them all; and from that day forward he was a marked man. "What good will he gain by his Christianity?" Ah, what good indeed! within a month *he died*. Quite alone; too late to send for the catechist who lived ten miles off, he died in peace. "I must wait then," he said, "till I meet him in heaven." Before the catechist could arrive our brother was already buried. And here observe the triumph of the gospel. His only son, who hitherto had been indifferent about religion,—and whose interest, if ever it had existed, might have been supposed to be crushed out by his father's untimely death,—now came forward boldly as a Christian. Single-handed, he braved the displeasure of his numerous relatives who assembled for the funeral; and all was conducted without any idolatrous adjunct whatsoever. He expresses a wish now for baptism. A few days afterwards I visited another out-station to the north of Ningpo; and I was requested by a woman who has long been a waverer, to receive her as a candidate for baptism. While I was speaking to her, her two eldest sons came up,—lads of fourteen and twelve years of age respectively. I noticed them, and then passed on. To my dismay I heard a few days afterwards, that on the very day following my visit and the determination of this poor woman to become a Christian, her second son was seized with fever, *and died*. Surely this blow, this untimely death, must crush out the little faith in the mother's heart! So I thought; but it was not so. Deeply sorrowing, she yet acknowledged God's wisdom and God's sovereignty; and did not relax in her desire for baptism. I baptized her last January.

I cannot but trust that in these two cases, it will be found through the power of the spirit of love and holiness, that the love of the Saviour is "strong as death."

Yours faithfully,

NINGPO, March 11, 1875.

A. E. MOULE.

P. S. I have just received tidings of an old woman who was baptized last January. She was taken ill almost immediately after, and is now I fear, on her death bed; but the Chinese catechist who visited her yesterday writes to me:—"Thank God her soul is steadfast in the faith; she said herself to me, 'I am almost every moment thinking of the Lord.'"

MY DEAR SIR,—

It was only a short time ago that I had the pleasure of seeing for the first time the article on the tablet of Si-an fu, published in vol. v, No. ii, of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, in which are brought together a great number of quotations from Chinese books, to prove the authenticity of the inscription. Will you permit me to add to these quotations one more ancient document.

After the dynasty of the T'ang had been overthrown by the Sung in the tenth century, the first emperor of the latter dynasty gave orders to the learned Chinese Wang P'u 王溥 to compile from official documents, a review of the acts, institutions, etc. of the preceding dynasty. After Wang P'u had finished his work, it was published under the name of *T'ang hui yao* 唐會要. In the section devoted to the different religions, the same edict in favour of the Christian as found on the tablet of Si-an fu is reproduced, with some variations however. It reads as follows: "Monastery of Ta-t'sin. In the 12th year of *Ching-kuan* (A. D. 639), in the 7th month, the following imperial edict was promulgated. 'Religion has not an invariable name; saints are not of constant form; they establish doctrines in accordance with the countries, and mysteriously save living beings. The monk A-lo-pen from Po-sze has come from afar with the Scriptures and the doctrine, in order to present them at (our) capital. On examining the spirit of this doctrine, we find it excellent and separate from the world, and acknowledge that it is quickening for mankind and indispensable. This religion succours living beings, is beneficial to the human race, and (therefore) is worthy of being spread over the Celestial empire (天下). We decree a monastery to be built by the appropriate Board, in the quarter of *Y-ning fang*, and twenty-one priests to be appointed there.'

When comparing the text of this edict with that on the tablet, we find that the author of the tablet inscription has given some licence to his style; working out some phrases. But an essential difference in the sense of the two versions can not be properly proved.

At another place in the same *T'ang hui yao*, I find that edict concerning the change of the name of the monastery of Po-sze into the name of Ta-t'sin sze, which is mentioned in the paper above referred to. It bears the date A. D. 745.

Let me communicate to you another remark concerning the tablet. At the end of the inscription it is stated, that the tablet was erected on the great day *Yo-sen-wan* 曜森文. This word is intended evidently to render the Persian *Yek shamba*, i. e. the first day (of the week),—consecrated to the sun. The Persian names of the days are occasionally found transcribed in Chinese Buddhist astrological works, as far as I remember, since the tenth century. In these books Sunday is termed *Yo-sen-wu* 曜森勿. These Persian names of the days found their way also into the Chinese astrological books. Particulars about this fact

can be seen in the *K'in ting hie ki pien fang* 欽定協紀辨方 (1739), in which the first day of the week is spelt *Yo-sen-wu*, as it is in the Budanist works.

Yours very faithfully,

PEKING, 13th March, 1875.

ARCHIMANDRITE PALLADIUS.

P. S. I find among my notes written about twenty years ago, a curious comparative table of the different names of the cycle of seven days, according to the planets, as found in Buddhist books. I give here the list in European spelling, but cannot give the Chinese characters, as I am not able to find the book from which I drew this note.

| English. | Chinese           | Hu (Barbarian) according to the Buddhist works.<br>Hui-hu (Ouigur) according to the Hie-ki-pien-fang. | (Po-sze) Persian. | Indian (restored)  |
|----------|-------------------|---|-------------------|--|
| Sun      | <i>Ji</i> 日       | <i>Mi</i>   | <i>Yo sen-wu</i>  | <i>Aditia</i>  |
| Moon     | <i>Yue</i> 月      | <i>Mo</i>   | <i>Low sen-wu</i> | <i>Soma</i>  |
| Mars     | <i>Ho-yo</i> 火曜   | <i>Yun-han</i>  | <i>Shi sen-wu</i> | <i>Angaraka</i><br>(Chinese, -Yang-o-lo-ki)                |
| Mercury  | <i>Shui-yo</i> 水曜 | <i>Ti</i>   | <i>Chi sen-wu</i> | <i>Buddha</i>  |
| Jupiter  | <i>Mu-yo</i> 木曜   | <i>Hu-wu-sze</i>  | <i>Pen sen-wu</i> | <i>Vrihaspati</i>  |
| Venus    | <i>Kin-yo</i> 金曜  | <i>Na-hie</i>   | <i>Su sen-wu</i>  | <i>Shukra</i>  |
| Saturn   | <i>T'u-yo</i> 土曜  | <i>Chi-van</i>  | <i>Hi sen-wu</i>  | <i>Shanaischava</i> (Chinese,<br>--She-nai-y-y-shi-che-la) |

MY DEAR SIR,—

I herewith enclose a Slip—*Information wanted*—which if the *Recorder* would kindly answer at the earliest convenience, we would be greatly obliged. The slip explains itself. Perhaps the quoted statements are quite correct. We think not *in toto* however. We think a general discussion of all the items mentioned or embraced in the quotation, would be both instructive and interesting to many readers of the *Recorder* as well as to ourselves. Please allow us this suggestion merely. With best wishes,

Very truly yours,

HIROSAKI (Japan), March 13, 1875.

JOHN ING.

*Information wanted.*

We find the following in a standard book, and would respectfully ask *some information* touching the truth of the same.

“We have no hydraulic constructions as great as the Chinese Canal;—no fortifications as extensive as the Chinese Wall; we have no Artesian wells that can at all compare in depth to some of theirs. We have not yet resorted to the practice of obtaining coal-gas from the interior of the earth; they have borings for that purpose more than three thousand feet deep.”

MY DEAR SIR,—

In a foot note on page 75 of the last number of the *Recorder*, you point out the mistake in saying that “Bishop Smith of Hongkong

proposed the use of *Tien-chu* for 'God.' My informant was mistaken on this point.

However it is due to the memory of Bishop Smith, to say that he proposed *Tien-shin* only as a compromise, while he himself was in favor of the use of *Tien-chu* for "God."

In his letter to the Rev. S. W. Mellor, the Sec. of the British and Foreign Bible Society, to which letter you refer, he writes on page 19 as follows: "*Tien-chu* (the Lord of Heaven), the Roman-catholic term for God, has doubtless many things to recommend it as preferable,—being stereotyped by nearly a century and a half of usage, in a religion which numbers its tens of thousands in every province of the Empire, and whose religious nomenclature Protestant Christians have adopted on most other points. But better satisfied as I should be to see a compromise effected on that basis, I have but little hope at present on any other term than *Tien-shin*. Glad should I be, if the able pen of Dr. Medhurst could induce the Protestant missionary body to accept *Tien-chu* as the basis of a compromise."

Will you kindly insert this note in your next number?

Yours sincerely,

H. BLODGET.

PEKING, March 16, 1875.

DEAR SIR,—

Will you kindly allow me to make use of your periodical for the purpose of asking my brethren and fellow-missionaries in China their views in reference to the following questions:—

1. Is it or is it not desirable, that the subject of terms for God in Chinese should be considered an open question by home committees of missionary, tract and Bible societies; and also by local committees of the same societies in China?

2. If this is desirable, is it or is it not possible, that some recommendation could be agreed upon by the missionaries in China to the home authorities, to the effect that grants be given to all missionaries of a certain standing, using one of the five terms now in general use among Chinese missionaries, namely—*Shang-ti*, *Shin*, *Chu*, *Tien-chu*, *Shang-chu*?

Recent circumstances have brought these questions before my own mind in a very marked way. I will say nothing about the circumstances at present. It may be necessary to bring them publicly forward in the course of the discussion. But, in the meantime, I would be much obliged to any of my brethren who will give, in your Journal, an expression of opinion on the questions I have proposed. It may be taken for granted that I have very valid reasons for proposing these questions for discussion.

I may as well say, that the object at which I aim in opening this discussion, is *toleration of each other's views in the matter of the term for God*. None of us can say that we are infallibly right:—all of us feel that the very best term that has ever been proposed is imperfect. Different views will be held, for the present at least, by men equal in conscientious-

ness and in mental power to discern the truth. We can never expect to force our particular terms on others ;—the attempt to do it will always recoil upon ourselves.

Under these circumstances what is to be done?—Influence home committees in favour of one particular term, and advise them to refuse, or make it the most difficult thing possible for a man to obtain books with any other term?—Lay down a law in local Bible and tract committees, excluding all who do not believe in our term?—Refuse my fellow-missionary, —who is perhaps as earnest and knows as much about the subject as myself,—permission to print books with a term, the *only* sin in which is, that it is not *my* term?—Crush out by a majority in committee a man who, in my particular locality, is all alone in his views, and has nothing else that can be laid to his charge? Surely, surely not! The commonest fair-play, the hope of arriving some day at a universal recognition of the truth in the matter, hope of success among the heathen, and above all, the religion we believe and preach,—all say TOLERATE, TOLERATE each other. Use your own terms, but meet together in prayer, in social gatherings of converts, and in committees. Say nothing to each other of “adverse votes,” with reference to books containing different terms to your own. Those who want other books than those you use will always manage to procure them in spite of you. Never therefore throw hindrances in their way. Help them as brethren, mistaken it may be, but as sincere as you. Let the Chinese, who really do not understand our bitter controversy, see that, though we cannot use the same terms, we are friendly to each other’s work, and are even helpful of each other in the very points where we differ. We have all smarted from religious intolerance in days gone by; should we not profit by the lessons of history, and learn to be tolerant of each other as missionaries to the Chinese?

Hoping that I may calculate on your kind help in this “plea for toleration,”  
Believe me

Yours truly,

St. PAUL’S COLLEGE,

J. S. BURDON,

HONGKONG, March 30th, 1875.

Bishop of Victoria.

#### BOREAL SPELLING.

DEAR SIR,—

In the *Recorder* for Sept-Oct. 1874, *Borealis* proposes a new style of Chinese spelling. He laments the existing varieties of spelling, and longs for uniformity. But it is doubtful whether it be really possible to contrive a uniform system of spelling for the numerous spoken languages (usually called “dialects”) of China; and if it were invented, it might very probably be found too cumbrous for use. Certainly his scheme will not do.

The aspirated forms of *p*, *t*, *k*, *ch*, and *ts*, usually indicated by affixing a comma or aspirate (sometimes by the letter *h*), are undoubtedly difficult sounds to a beginner; but if these sounds were



really, as *Borealis* asserts, the same as those in the English words, *pun*, *tun*, *king*, *church*, &c., they could not present that difficulty to the learner which they actually do present. The difficulty is only increased by refusing to recognize it; while on the contrary, the learner will be greatly helped in mastering these peculiar sounds, by being told that they are not found in correct English, though they do occur in some provincial English dialects, being often heard in the pronunciation of Irishmen and Scotch Highlanders, especially when uneducated.

These aspirated consonants are identical (or virtually so) in the mandarin and in the vernaculars of the south. The simple or un-aspirated forms also occur equally in the southern vernaculars and in the mandarin, and correspond exactly, or almost exactly, with the English *p*, *t*, *k*, *ch*, and *ts*, and are quite different from the letters by which *Borealis* would express them, viz, *b*, *d*, *g*, *j*, and *ds* (*dz*).

In addition to these two forms, (the aspirated and the un-aspirated), we have besides in Amoy the real English *b*, *g* (hard), and *j* (*dz*h), in a large number of words; and, occasionally, we have the English sound of *d* (which is quite common at Shanghai) and *dz*. Thus it appears that the proposed changes in the spelling of consonants are quite out of the question.

It is singular that any one should, at this date, make such a retrograde proposal as to use *oo* for the sound of *u* (long). And it is surely a sign of inaccurate analysis to write *ds*, a combination which cannot be pronounced. Of course he means *dz*, but that would interfere with his own new use of *z*.

His alphabet gives no symbols for the very common sounds *sh*, *ng*, and *hs*, or however one may write that remarkable sound (so characteristic of northern mandarin) about half-way between *s* and *h*. These omissions all the more prove the extreme crudeness of his scheme, as two of them, *sh* and *ng*, occur in his own examples.

It is much to be desired that the contributors to such a magazine as the *Recorder* should supply carefully prepared and accurate articles, instead of tantalizing its readers by the fitful flashes of the *aurora borealis*. And I think I express a very general feeling when I add, that it would be far better (unless there be some special reason for secrecy) to discard all such *noms de plume*; for, whether it be a matter of fact or opinion, whether of spelling, grammar, translation, theology, or practical work, it is very important that the names of the writers should be known.

CARSTAIRS DOUGLAS.

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## Missionary News.

### Births, Marriage and Death.

#### BIRTHS.

At Amoy, on February 16th, the wife of Rev. J. Macgowan of the London Mission, of a daughter.

At Hongkew, Shanghai, on March 22nd, the wife of Edward Fishe, of the China Inland Mission, of a daughter.  
At the South Gate, Shanghai, on March 27th, the wife of Rev. G. F. Fitch of the American Presbyterian Mission, of a daughter.

**MARRIAGE.**

At Canton, on March 18th, by the Rev. H. V. Noyes, the Rev. A. P. HAPPER, D.D. to Miss H. J. SHAW, both of the Presbyterian Mission.

**DEATH.**

At Ningpo, on February 26th, Lucy E. STARR, the wife of Rev. E. C. Lord, D.D., U.S. Consul.

PEKING.—Rev. S. D. and Mrs. Harris of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, left in March for the United States, via Shanghai, from which they sailed on March 24th, for San Francisco.

S. W. Williams, LL. D., Secretary to the United States Legation, the oldest member of the missionary body in China, left with his family for the United States in the beginning of April. They embarked at Shanghai in the French Mail Str. *Peiho*, intending to visit England *en route*.

TIENTSIN.—The Rev. E. Bryant, of the London Mission, who has been temporarily located at this station for nearly two years, left for Shanghai about the middle of March, from which he returned to his station at Hankow by an early opportunity.

CHEFOO.—The Rev. H. Corbett, of the American Presbyterian Mission, left with his children for a visit to the United States about the middle of March, after twelve years residence in China.

The Provisional Committee for arranging preliminaries for a general convention of missionaries, have received answers to their general circular, from nearly all the stations; and in view of the variety of opinions set forth, they have now issued a second circular, with a synopsis of the various answers; thus enabling missionaries to look at the question in the light of the several utterances that have been given by their brethren elsewhere. It appears, the great majority are in favour of such a convention; nine stations are

unanimously so; at three more there are a majority in favour; at one the votes are equally divided; at one station the majority is adverse; and two stations have not yet responded. The list of subjects proposed by the various committees and brethren covers a great field of thought, and will be very suggestive to the committee of arrangements, in mapping out the final programme. In issuing this second circular, the provisional committee hope to obtain a final answer from each station during the first half of May; that so,—should the votes be decisive in favour,—the committee of arrangement may be able to meet in Shanghai, prior to the hot season setting in. We trust the brethren at all the stations will see the importance of a prompt reply.

Mr. R. Lilley, of the National Bible Society of Scotland, whose journeys on the Han river we noticed in our September-October issue, has since made a successful journey to the capital of Sze-chuen, and was generally well received on the way; though his sales of books were moderate. Leaving Hankow on October 13th by boat, he diverged from the Yang-tze at the Tung-ting lake and visited the prefectural city of Yo-chow, where he found the people troublesome. Crossing the lake, he followed for some distance the track of the lamented Mr. Margery. The visit of that gentleman had produced a decidedly favourable result on the people. At the district city of Hwa-yung the people were wilder. He arrived at the city of E-chang, on the Yang-tze, on November 9th, and having engaged another boat for the gorge navigation, left again on the fourteenth. He reached Chung-king on December 13th, where he remained a week. Starting thence by chair, after a journey of eleven hundred *li*, he reached Ching-too the provincial city on January 5th, where he remain-

ed three days, returned to Chung-king by land, and thence to Hankow by river, reaching that port on February 21st. After a short interval spent there, he returned to Shanghae, and thence by steamer to Chefoo, where he arrived on March 15th, after an absence of more than fourteen months spent travelling in the interior. Mr. Lilley left again by the Str. *Shingking* on April 19th and reached Shanghae in due course, whence he sailed on the 29th for Japan in the *Oregonian*, to visit the various open ports in that country, which will occupy him some weeks. He then leaves for home via America, intending to return after an interval to renew his labours in China.

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SHANGHAE.—Mrs. Lambuth of the American Southern Methodist Mission, left with her two children in the *Nevada*, on April 14th, for a visit to the United States. Mr. Lambuth intended accompanying them to Yokohama and thence returning to his station at Shanghae.

THE following letter, in reference to the International Exhibition at Philadelphia, has been addressed to the various mission stations in China. We publish it for more general information, as it may possibly have escaped the observation of some of our brethren, who will be glad to co-operate in forwarding the object contemplated.

Shanghai, April 15th, 1875.

Dear Brethren,

The Chinese Government has formally accepted the invitation of the President of the United States to co-operate in the International Centennial Exhibition to be held at Philadelphia in 1876, and has appointed three Commissioners to attend to the details connected with the collection and arrangement of articles to be sent forward during the present year, namely, Messrs. E. B. Drew, G. Detring and C. Hanuon of the Imperial Customs' Service. Three mercantile Gentlemen, one from each of three leading American Houses in China, have consented to co-operate with them in whatever way they may agree upon.

I have been recently applied to by Mr. Drew of Chefoo to aid in making a collection of everything which will form a full representation of the benevolent work done in China by Protestant Missions since the arrival of

Robert Morrison at Canton in 1807, by bringing the proposal to the notice of all the laborers now in the country, and obtaining their assistance. The suggestion has already received the warm approval of the American Minister, the Hon. B. P. Avery; and I think it will commend itself to all whom I now address as a likely means of promoting their work. I beg to briefly explain the objects to be kept in view, and suggest the way in which the end can be attained.

I inclose with this letter a copy of the Regulations to be observed by all who intend to send articles to the Exhibition; from which it will be seen, under Regulation x., that Department X. is the proper place for this collection. It is entitled, "Objects illustrating Efforts for the Improvement of the Physical, Intellectual, and Moral Condition of Man," and is subdivided into fifteen separate groups relating to benevolent, sanitary, scientific, governmental, and other collateral subjects. Group 104, entitled "Religious Organizations and Systems," is the appropriate place for a missionary collection, and is subdivided into the following five classes:—

CLASS 1040.—Origin, nature, growth, and extent of various religious systems and sects.—Statistical, historical, and other facts.

CLASS 1041.—Religious orders and societies, and their objects.

CLASS 1042.—Societies and organizations for the propagation of systems of religion by missionary effort.—Their extent, conduct, and statistics of their operations.

CLASS 1043.—Spreading the knowledge of religious systems by publications.—Specimens of the publications of Bible, Tract, and Sunday School Societies; their statistics.

CLASS 1044.—Systems and methods of religious instruction and training for the young.—Teachings in the family; Sunday School furniture and apparatus.

Under these five headings, everything connected with missionary work in China will naturally fall, but chiefly under the third class; except, perhaps, the extensive operations and results of the various hospitals at the ports. Group 101, entitled "Sanitary," would perhaps be the strictly proper place for them; but as all the exhibits from China under Department X. would probably be furnished by the missionary body, the distinction would not affect the unity of the collection.

The thorough exhibition of the results of Protestant missions in China would make a representation full of attraction and instruction to the people of the United States, especially the religious public. It would show their slow growth from 1807, when the first missionary landed at Canton, up to 1842, when the Treaty of Nanking opened five ports for their labors; and thenceforward illustrate their development to the present time. It would come, too, from the agents of the American, British, German, and other Protestant societies now in operation in the Empire, and show to that public the ac-

cord which exists in the labors and aims of all these nationalities in promoting the common object; and I am sure that the information, statistics, and articles thus collected, would inform and encourage many well-wishers who are now ignorant of the total results of our labors.

The collection could be made to display the following objects, and set forth the following details of information:—

1. Books in Chinese, written or translated by missionaries.—A copy of each work.
2. Books in English or other foreign languages, written by missionaries, upon the language, institutions, or people of China.—A copy of each work.
3. Statistics, printed or in manuscript, giving the number of male and female laborers connected with each mission now in the field, and all from the beginning.
4. Number, size, and location of churches.
5. Number of communicants and baptized children.
6. Means of support of Christian Churches, support of native pastors by these churches, and contributions of their members.
7. Statistics of missionary Schools; date of opening, nature of studies; results of school; time under instruction; specimens of pupils' work, embroidery, &c.
8. Operations of the Press; block-cutting and movable types, with specimens of each; number of missionary newspapers and magazines in Chinese.
9. Itinerating.
10. Missionary Hospitals; sources of support; number, classification, and kind of patients; copy of published reports; results.

The Chinese books should be labeled uniformly, with printed labels on the cover, stating in English the title, with its signification; date of publication; number of copies issued; price; author's name, and the mission he belonged to. The English books need only be classified. The kind of work which will best exhibit the branches of industry taught in the schools, may be safely left to the choice of their teachers; and in selecting it, the useful and the ornamental should have due proportions. So too with the results of hospital work; and I make no other suggestion than that the mere statistics of this branch of benevolence will not alone be an adequate exhibition of its important position in the mission cause in this land.

The above comprise the chief heads under which the outward results of missionary work in China may properly be arranged. The proposal to make this effort commends itself to the whole missionary body in this particular,—that no similar attempt has ever been made at any European Exhibition; and this will belong to no particular nation. It is simply an exposé of Protestant Missions in China; and if made out in a manner commensurate with the present condition of their labors, we can hardly doubt that it will increase the interest taken in them, induce some to turn their attention to so great a field of

Christian work, and encourage the Churches to greater contributions to carry it on. The principal point for consideration, therefore, is to arrange the details so as to combine and classify the contributions with the least outlay of time and labor.

To this end, I would respectfully suggest that a meeting be held of all the missionaries living at those ports and cities where various Societies are represented, and a division be made of the work to be done among all of them. One person can then be appointed to correspond with the General Committee in Shanghai. Members at stations in the country can communicate with the mission they belong to at these ports; and by means of such an allotment of labor the whole thing can soon be accomplished. The work should be hastened as fast as convenient, for the whole collection ought to be ready in Shanghai by autumn, so as to be turned over to the Chinese Commissioners who will then send it off. It is expected that the expense of packing and forwarding from that port to Philadelphia will be borne by the Chinese Government; but the outlay at each station for bringing materials and articles together will perhaps be defrayed by the mission body living there. It cannot be very large.

I am permitted to mention the members of the Committee at Shanghai, which consists of A. Wylie, J. M. W. Farnham, J. J. Thomas, E. H. Thompson, and J. L. Mateer. These gentlemen will receive the letters and collections connected with the Exhibition, and the person appointed at each station will address them to A. Wylie, Chairman of the Committee. As soon as an acknowledgment of this letter is returned to Mr. Wylie, tabular forms will be furnished to be filled up.

Earnestly commending this enterprise to your favorable consideration,

I am, Dear Brethren,

Respectfully yours,

S. WELLS WILLIAMS.

WE notice the return of the Rev. J. Williamson, of the China Inland Mission, from England during April, after more than a year's absence.

KEWKEANG.—Mr. J. E. Cardwell, of the China Inland Mission, left to return to England via Shanghai, about the middle of April, from which he sailed in the M. M. Steamer *Meikong*, on April 25th.

AMOY.—The Rev J. Sadler of the London Mission, left with his family in February for a visit to England, in consequence of declining health.

CHINCHEW.—The English Presbyterian Mission at Amoy has at present a case of persecution at Chin-chew 泉州, in which city there has been a chapel and congregation in connection with that mission for about ten years. The congregation has gradually increased, so that the chapel is much too small; and a house was bought for a new chapel, the deed being made out, according to the regulations, in the name of two of the Chinese Christians, acting as trustees for the church. When the deed was taken to the Register office at Chinchew to be registered, the officials refused to do so, and at once arrested the principal seller and two of the middlemen. The middlemen have been cruelly treated and are still in prison. The seller is better treated, but is also in close confinement. The case has been put in the hands of the British consul. The opposition as usual emanates from the so-called "literati," who are very numerous and powerful in Chinchew. They also endeavoured, by inflammatory placards, to incite the people to destroy the present chapel; but in that attempt they failed; the placards were removed soon after they were put up; probably either the literati considered, on second thoughts, that in this case that line of action was not suitable, or they may have been restrained by the authorities. Dr. Douglas visited the city on March 28th, spending part of four days there; he ordained elders and deacons, and baptized four men. He found the bearing of the people quite friendly; the opposition is confined to the officials and the literati; the people know well that they have got no harm from the presence of the chapel in their city these ten years past, from the present visits of the missionaries, or from the gradual growth of the Christian church among them.

FORMOSA. Taiwan.—Through a friend-

ly hand, we have been favoured with some notes regarding a recent outrage in this locality. It appears the Rev. W. Campbell of the English Presbyterian Mission has opened an out-station at Peh-tsui-khe, where an influential Chinese has long been a sort of despot and oppressor of the natives. Some of the people having become Christians, felt naturally indignant at the tyranny to which they were exposed, and resolved on asserting their rights. Like the masters of the divining damsel who followed Paul, this rich man, finding the hope of his gains diminishing, organized a raid on the property of the Christians. Complaint was made to the authorities through the missionary, and the aggressor was compelled to make restitution. This obviously gave rise to an intense hatred of both the native Christians and the foreign missionary, on the part of the rich man. The ground which the latter alleged for his quarrel with the Christians was, that their chapel, which had just been rebuilt, interfered with the *fung-shui* of a grave belonging to him. The relative positions of the chapel and grave were however such, that this was evidently a mere pretext; and the real motive was very plainly what we have indicated. Mr. Campbell was at one of his stations a few miles from Peh-tsui-khe, when a message was brought to him that the rich man referred to wished to see him. Mr. C. replied that if he had any business with him he was to be found at T'ai-wan j'oo. The next thing Mr. C. heard was, that that night or the next an attack had been made upon the Christians; and on hastening to the place to see how matters stood, he found that one person at least had been severely wounded with a spear. He was to spend the night in the chapel there, and had gone to sleep, when about midnight he awoke, and on looking out, saw that a

portion of the premises was on fire, and that the building was surrounded by about fifty armed men. He made an attempt to escape, but was threatened by the ruffians with spears and knives; and though he escaped unwounded, his blanket, which he had held up before him, was pierced with the spears. He made several equally unsuccessful attempts to rush out; for a torch having been thrown into his bed-room, the furniture was on fire, and he was put in great straits by the heat. It was a terrible position;—his room blazing about him, and his only way of escape barred by armed men, whose savage features he could see by the light of the flames. After committing himself into the hands of God, he resolved to make one more rush for his life, and just then, to his great surprise and relief, he saw the crowd falling back. He thought that perhaps they were forced to do so by the heat from the burning house being blown towards them by a gust of wind. Whatever may have led to it, their temporary withdrawal afforded him an opportunity of making his escape over a back wall, to some tall grass in the vicinity of the chapel, where he hid himself. After a little, he ventured to look about him, and saw the men searching the fields around the chapel with torches; and then he thought it was time to move farther off. In his new hiding place he fell in with the native preacher, who had made his escape earlier. Both lay concealed for some time, and then, towards morning, made their way over the hills to Ka-gi, to the district magistrate, who sent Mr. Campbell on to Tai-wan *foo* with an armed escort. Mr. C. was not injured, except that he had suffered somewhat from the heat of the fire, and afterwards from exposure to the cold night air, as he had nothing on but his night-clothes. We trust he has now recovered from the effects of his severe trial.

HANGCHOW.—The Rev. M. H. and Mrs. Houston left in the early part of April for Shanghai, where they took passage in the *Nevada* on the 14th for the United States. Mr. Houston has been for some time suffering from an affection of the heart, and it is doubtful if he will be able to return to China.

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NINGPO.—We hear the Rev. J. Butler has been selected to represent this station in the committee of arrangements for the general convention of missionaries.

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HANKOW.—The Rev. G. John has been appointed a delegate to attend the committee of arrangements for the general convention of missionaries.

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CANTON.—Miss Lillie B. Happer of the American Presbyterian Mission, left Hongkong in the Str. *Peking*, with her two younger sisters, for the United States, via Yokohama, sailing from the latter port on April 9th.

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SWATOW.—The following lines we extract from a private letter:—"There has been a little trouble in this region; two chapels belonging to the American mission having been attacked, and some of the Christians maltreated by mobs. In one of the cases the district magistrate has taken prompt action to obtain redress for the injuries inflicted. The other case still remains unsettled. There were many rumours abroad a few weeks ago, to the effect that foreigners were all about to be expelled, and Christians and Christian places of worship swept away. We feared that this way of speaking might lead to more serious consequences, but I hope it is dying away. We are perfectly free to travel and preach through the country to any extent, and there has not been more than the usual amount of calling of names."



JAPAN. YOKOHAMA.—The Rev. J. R. Miller has resigned his connection with the American Presbyterian Mission, and joined the Dutch Reformed Church Mission.

The following is a clipping from the North-China Daily News of April 17th:—"The *Mail* publishes a translation of a paragraph from the *Nichi Nichi Shimbun* to the effect that a man, father of a samurai, being a believer in Christianity, on his death-bed requested his son to bury him with Christian rites, but there being no shrines or temples where those rites are

known, the son performed the funeral ceremony himself, for which he has been sentenced to thirty days' imprisonment. Upon this, the *Mail* asks—"Are the Japanese about to endanger and even to ruin their new-made reputation for liberality, by persecuting the native Christians again?" and concludes some appropriate remarks by saying that Christian nations 'will regard the granting of freedom to the Press as a very poor, if not a hypocritical thing by the side of a persecution of the native Christian converts.'"

## Notices of Recent Publications.

*A Systematical Digest of the Doctrines of Confucius, according to the Analects, Great Learning and Doctrine of the Mean, with an Introduction on the Authorities upon Confucius and Confucianism.* By Ernst Faber, Rhenish Missionary. Translated from the German, by P. G. von Moellendorff. Imp. Germ. Consular Service. Hongkong: Printed at the "China Mail" Office. 1875. Canton: Dr. Kerr's Hospital. Shanghai: Mission Press. London: Trübner & Co., 57 and 59, Ludgate Hill.

WHILE we thank Mr. Moellendorff for the remarkably pure and idiomatic English into which he has rendered the treatise of his countryman Mr. Faber, we yet feel that it is impossible but a translation must fall short to some extent of the force of the original. It was first delivered as a lecture before the Rhenish missionaries at Hongkong, which is a sufficient indication of the author's aim. We are aware that investigations into heathen systems and modes of thought are sometimes frowned down by earnest workers; who deem that it is so much time taken from direct effort. We confess that is a stage of liberality to which we have not yet attained. If some knowledge of Muhammedanism is needful to a missionary in Turkey,—not less is it incumbent on a Christian teacher among the Chinese, to be well grounded in the principles of Confucianism.

Without such a preparation his equipment is but half complete. It seems to be Mr. Faber's idea to lead us on by easy stages, and we gladly accept the present essay, as an introduction to the teachings of the "Teacher of Ten thousand ages." The first part relates chiefly to the state of literature and doctrines prior to the time of Confucius; and is necessarily brief, being little more than references to sources of information,—which are not without their value. The following part is a concordance of the leading terms used in three of the *Four Books*. To use this successfully, it is almost necessary to be possessed of Legge's edition of these books; the references being to it throughout. As the text of nearly every reference however, is given with the translation, it may be of considerable service to the student of Chinese before he has mastered the



works themselves. A very few strictures are thrown into this part of the work. One of the longest is on Confucius' version of the "golden rule," of which, after some quotations on the subject he says:—

"It is important to give prominence to this positive side of the doctrine of reciprocity. The Christian preacher finds in it one of the closest connecting links. The excellence of Christianity loses nothing by the connexion, for, after all, in carrying out the principle the intention weighs most. Christianity, on the one hand, prescribes it from the divine stand-point, considering human relations in the light of eternity; Confucius, on the other hand, recommends it from a merely earthly and temporal stand-point. If therefore I am fond of flattery *e. g.*, I am myself obliged, according to Confucius, to flatter others. The modern Chinese go still further and apply the principle to social enjoyments and amusements, such as opium smoking, drinking etc. Here lies the error. The good part of the maxim is therefore simply negative—a passive avoidance of doing wrong to your neighbour, rather than as in the Christian code, an active seeking of his welfare, and runs thus:—Do not put on others unbearable burdens, which you do not yourself touch with one of your fingers."

At the end we have a catalogue of twenty four "defects and errors of Confucianism," as viewed from a Christian stand-point. Some will perhaps take exception to the author's classification,

and we confess we think he draws the cord too tight under a few of the heads. The treatise closes with ten "Propositions concerning the doctrine of Confucius as compared with those of Christianity." We commend the whole work as very suggestive, and we imagine Mr. Faber intended it for nothing more. He has now broken ground, and we trust he will go on to a fuller development of the subject which has evidently occupied his mind, and for which he seems peculiarly fitted. The doctrines of Confucius have already been placed within the reach of European students; but with regard to the teachings of many philosophers near his period in history, anything more than the vaguest ideas cannot be said to exist, even among scholars—in the west. We hope Mr. Faber will be encouraged to put to press his translations of the writings of the old Taoists Lieh-tzu and Chnang-tzu, which he tells us he has in MS. These are some of the oldest records of native thought, and form an important desideratum to a study of the Chinese mind.

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*Chinese Classics. Translated into English, with Preliminary Essays and Explanatory Notes. (Revised and reproduced from the author's work containing the original text.)* By James Legge, D. D., LL. D. Vol. ii. *The Life and Works of Mencius.* Trübner & Co. London, 1875.

We have much pleasure in noticing the publication of this work. The occasion of it was to meet the wants of general readers, and in consequence of the appearance of an English edition of the former volume in the United States. Having been requested to issue an edition of the whole series in his own name, it seemed an excellent opportunity for revising what he had already done. As he says, the increased study of the Chinese classics had enlarged his acquaintance with them, and suggested various points on which improvements might be made. This

he has carefully done in the present volume as in the previous one. He has written out the translation afresh and the notes also, with a special view to their suitability for the class intended. He has thus done all that could be desired, and in regard to price, has placed the work within the reach of many who may have thought the original volume too expensive, while the form and size of it are convenient for ordinary use. The absence of the Chinese character will be no grievance to the general reader, who is desirous simply of understanding the sentiments

of a distinguished Chinese philosopher, and ascertaining the secret of his power over the many million minds of China. Confiding in the fidelity of the translation, and the intelligence of the translator, as evinced in the notes and prolegomena that form a considerable portion of the volume, the reader is in circumstances to judge for himself as to the problem in question, undisturbed by the formidable array of Chinese

text, of which he might know nothing. The typography and arrangement of the work are satisfactory, and show in various things an improvement on the original; while, no doubt, the Chinese student will prefer the latter. We are thankful that this volume has made its appearance, and wish it an extensive circulation among parties interested in Chinese literature and learning.

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*Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. iii, part 1. From 14th October, 1874, to 23rd December, 1874. Yokohama: 1875. Printed at the "Japan Mail" Office

THE Asiatic Society of Japan is but young in the field, and it shews a vigour characteristic of youth, if we may judge by the periodical issue of its *Transactions*. The Part before us, covering a little over two months, is certainly creditable. There are three articles of much practical interest by Dr. Geerts on *Useful Minerals and Metallurgy of the Japanese*. We think however it is a pity they should have been separated in the journal; even if it was found necessary to read them as three instalments. A short paper on *The preparation of vegetable wax*, by Henry Gribble is instructive and ac-

ceptable. Two others are geographical, one on the *Bay of Sendai* by Captain St. John, and the other on a *Trip to Niigata*, by J. A. Lindo. The most important paper in the number probably as it is the longest; is thrown into the Appendix;—*The Revival of Pure Shinto*, by E. M. Satow. This seems to be a careful detail of historical facts, little known in the west, but full of interest as bearing on the doctrines and beliefs of the people, and giving an account of the views entertained by a school of modern writers on Shinto, the ancient religious faith of the Japanese.

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*The China Review*. Vol. iii, Nos. 2,—4. September, 1874—February, 1875.

Our Hongkong contemporary deserves all praise for the vigilance which has secured a class of contributors, whose articles during the past half year, have added not a little to our real knowledge of China and the east; the information being generally communicated in an entertaining and readable form. The September No. opens with a paper on a subject almost sensational at that time,—*Audiences granted by the Emperors of China to Western Envoys*. The substance mat-

ter though by no means new nor exhaustive, will doubtless be fresh to many readers. We would suggest as a companion article,—a review of the audiences granted by the emperors to Asiatic envoys. The subject would be curious and instructive. By the way,—where is the map that is alluded to and said to be appended? In Nos. 2 and 3 Mr. Giles continues his translation of *The Hsi Yuan lu*, bringing it down to the end of the second book. We hope the remaining three books

will follow in due course. True, it is not light reading, but it is a book of authority in China; and the version of such an accomplished translator as Mr. Giles, is worth far more than a volume of dilettanti generalities on the scientific knowledge of the Chinese by a mere smart writer. *The noble art of Self-defence in China* is a somewhat free translation of the title of a tract published in Canton and found for sale on the street stalls of many cities in China. The text of the original is very brief, and the translator is evidently equal to his subject. The original cuts are rude; but the illustrations in the *Review* are much coarser than the original. We have three instalments of Mr. Allen's *Tales from the Liao chai chih yi*. "The Theft of the Peaches" in No. 4, is a version of a famous trick which would put the Wizard of the North to shame, and appears to have been practised by the jugglers of China for many centuries. Ibn Batuta saw it acted at the court of the viceroy of Hangchow in 1348, and fainted at the sight. But his friend Afkharuddin who sat next him said "Wallah! . . . 'tis all hocus pocus." Edward Melton, an Anglo-Dutch traveller who witnessed the same feat at Batavia about 1670, was less sceptical than the Arab, and says,— "I should scarcely venture to insert [it] here had it not been witnessed by thousands before my own eyes." Similar tricks were common in India.\* Dr. Kerr's article on the *Benevolent institutions of Canton* is concluded in No. 2. In numbers 2 and 3 we have a pathetic tale done into verse by Mr. Stent in his popular style, entitled *Meng Cheng's journey to the Great Wall*. The *Report of M. Gubler upon the Materia Medica of the Chinese* is a translation from the French of a paper read

\* For fuller accounts of these tricks, see Yule's *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. i, pp. 280-282.

before the Academy of Medicine. *Chinese Proverbs and their lessons* by Alfred Lister, is an admirable essay on a subject now occupying the attention of a number of sinologues. We have two reviews of *Dr. Williams' Dictionary*. In reviewing a dictionary every one has a fair field for ventilating his peculiar crotchets, and the lexicographer is highly favoured in the abundance of information thus ready to his hand in preparing for his second edition. Mr. Groeneveldt supplements his review by a digression on Chinese lexicography in general, full of most excellent suggestions; but he leaves out of sight the fact that a great part of the laborious task that he has cut out for Europeans has already been accomplished by the Chinese themselves. Dr. Douglas is inexorable on the subject of *Chinese Tones*. The *Notes from the Red Book* deals with the deficiencies of that authorized repertory of official appointments, itineraries, topographical memoranda &c. Mr. H. J. Allen's *Chinese notice of the Shogun Taikosama*, is a description of the founder of the line of Taicoots at Yedo, given in a memorial to the throne by a Chinese statesman. There is a just review of Mr. Mayers' *Chinese Reader's Manual*, from the vigorous pen of Dr. Eitel, and a short paper on *The Aborigines of Formosa*, by Mr. Steere. The *precis* of the first half of the *San kao chih* by X. Z. is one of the best summaries of that popular novel we have yet seen. Mr. Mayers has commenced an exceedingly interesting paper, entitled *Chinese exploration of the Indian Ocean during the fifteenth century*, containing the adventures of the Chinese ambassador Ching Ho, which will afford ample scope for an abundance of that information with which the writer is so well stored. Mr. Hutchinson's *Three weeks in the interior* ought to have found a place in our own pages.

